













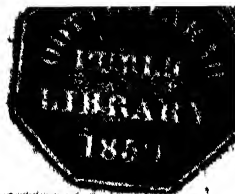
# Calcutta The Review

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THE

# CALCUTTA REVIEW

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ART. I.—*A Manual of Buddhism, in its Modern Development.*  
*Translated from Singhalese MSS. By R. Spence Hardy,*  
*Author of Eastern Monachism, &c. London. Partridge and*  
*Oakey 1853.*

IN our Twenty-second Number, we inserted an article on a work published by Mr. Hardy, entitled *Eastern Monachism*, on which occasion we presented an analysis of each chapter. It is our intention to follow the same plan in the present instance, as by this method our readers will be furnished with a brief, but connected, epitome of the leading features of modern Buddhism. We may remark that the *Manual* is more exclusively Indian in its character, and that the digressions are omitted which made the *Monachism* less acceptable to those who wish to confine their attention to the system of Gôtama *per se*.

I. *The System of the Universe*—The first chapter treats of the cycles of chronology, the clusters of worlds that are called *sakwalas*, and the periodical revolutions of the universe.

The normal number of the Buddhists is an *asankya*, which, according to Choma Kôrösi, requires a unit with 140 cyphers to express it.\* Were a solid rock, a cubic *yojana* in bulk, to be slightly touched, once in a hundred years, with a piece of cloth of the softest texture, the time would come, when, by this almost imperceptible mode of attrition, the rock would be worn down to the size of a small seed; but even this immense period would not be equal to an *asankya*. From the time that the age of man increases from ten years to an *asankya*, and decreases from an *asankya* to ten years, thus completing the entire series, from limited to vast, and from vast to limited, is an *anta-kalpa*. In each *anta-kalpa* there are eight *yugas* similar to the *yugs* of the *brahmins* in character, but more extended in duration. The Supreme *Budhas* are never born in a *kali-yug*. Twenty *anta-kalpas* make an *asankya-kalpa*, and four *asankya-kalpas* a *maha-kalpa*.

\* It may help such of our readers as have some knowledge of mathematical notation, not indeed to form any apprehension of the magnitude of the number, but to remember it, if we remind them, that it is "the number whose logarithm is 140"—Ed C R.

There are innumerable systems of worlds. The space to which the light of one sun extends is called a *sakwala*. The *sakwalas* are scattered throughout space, in sections of three, and between the three *sakwalas* is the *Lókántarika* or hell. Each *sakwala* contains an earth, with four continents, a mountain in the centre called *Maha Méru*, six *déwa-lókas*, and twenty *brahma-lókas*. Attached to each continent there are 2,000 islands. The *sakwala* is bounded by a wall of rock. At the base of each *sakwala* is a vacuum, called *Ajatákása*, above which is the *Wá-polowa*, or world of wind; above this, the *Jala-polowa*, or world of water; and above this, the Great Earth, 240,000 *yojanas* in depth. In the centre of the earth is *Méru*, 168,000 *yojanas* in height, its base resting upon a rock with three peaks, *Trikúta Parwata*. Between this mountain, and the wall at the limit of the *sakwala*, there are seven concentric circles of rocks, each circle diminishing in elevation as it increases in circumference. Between the circles of rock there are seas, the waters of which are agitated by the continued uprising of the flames from the internal regions. The circumference of the entire *sakwala* is 3,610,350 *yojanas*.

The inhabitants of the earth have faces of the same shape as the continents in which they are born. *Uturukuru* is at the north of *Méru*, in shape like a square seat. Its inhabitants are a privileged race, free from anxiety and want. *Púr-wawidésa*, on the east, is in shape like a half-moon. *Aparagó-dána*, on the west, is like a round mirror. *Jambudwípa*, on the south, is angular, and is the continent in which the *Budhas* appear. At its northern part is the great forest of *Ilímála*, in which is the *Anotatta Lake*, whence proceed four rivers, one of which is the *Ganges*. It contains a *jambu tree*, 100 *yojanas* high, from which it receives its name.

The sun, fifty *yojanas* in diameter, and the moon, forty *yojanas*, move through the heavens in three paths, and at regular intervals of time are seized by the *asurs*, *Ráhu* and *Kétu*. The declination of the sun is caused by its annual progress from *Méru* to the limit of the *sakwala*, and from the limit to *Méru*. The path of the moon is about a *yojana* lower than that of the sun. The sun moves, in one day, 2,700,000 *yojanas*; and the moon, 2,600,000 *yojanas*. On the day of the dark moon, the two luminaries are together, when the moon cannot be seen, as it is overpowered by the superior light of the sun; but on the second day, the sun has moved 100,000 *yojanas* further than the moon, which can then be partially seen like a narrow line. On the day of the full moon it is at the greatest distance from the sun, and the whole

of its disk can be seen. There are nine grahas, or planets, and the heavens are divided into twelve rásis, or signs, and twenty-seven nekatas, or lunar mansions.

The inhabitants of the six déwa-lókas are in the possession of sensuous enjoyments, and delight in crowns, gems, music, and beautiful companions. In the sixteen rúpa-brahma-lókas the enjoyments are entirely intellectual; there is bodily form, but no sensuous pleasure, and in one of them there is a state of unconscious existence. In the last of the arupa-brahma-lókas, the inhabitants are neither conscious nor unconscious. This is the nearest approach to nirwána, or the cessation of existence. There are eight principal narakas, or places of suffering, all situated in the interior of the earth.

The earth, as well as the various worlds connected with it, is subject alternately to destruction and renovation, in an endless series of revolutions. There are three modes of destruction—by fire, by water, and by wind. The first of the four asankya-kalpas is the period of destruction; the second, of nihilism; the third, of formation; and the fourth, of continued existence. The four complete the maha-kalpa. Previous to the coming of the destruction, the calamity is announced to men by a déwa. When fire is the agent of destruction, seven suns successively appear, which burn up all that exists. This destruction is entire, so that the place where the world formerly stood becomes utterly void, like the inside of a drum. The beings that have no merit appear in the naraka of some other system, and those that possess merit are born in one of the superior worlds of the same system, some of the superior worlds not being affected by the agencies that destroy all the worlds beneath them.

II. *The Various Orders of Sentient Existence.*—"As all the systems of worlds," we are told, "are homogeneous, so are the orders of being by whom they are inhabited, the various distinctions that are now presented being only of temporary duration. With the exception of those beings who have entered into one of the paths leading to nirwána, there may be an interchange of condition between the highest and the lowest. He who is now the most degraded of the demons, may one day rule the highest of the heavens; he who is at present seated upon the most honorable of the celestial thrones, may one day writhe amidst the agonies of a place of torment, and the worm that we crush under our feet may, in the course of ages, become a Supreme Budha. When any of the four paths are entered, there is the certainty that, in a definite period, more or less remote, nirwána will be obtained, and they who have

‘ entered into the paths are regarded as the noblest of all the intelligences in the universe. Hence our earth, in the time of a Supreme Budha, or when the sacred dhamma is rightly understood and faithfully observed, is the most favored of all worlds; the priests, or those who observe the precepts, assume a higher rank than any other order of being whatever, and there is an immeasurable distance between even the most exalted of the Déwas or Brahmas, and the teacher of the three worlds, who is supreme.”

The various orders of intelligence described in this chapter include—

1. Pasé-Budhas. 2. Rahats. 3. Déwas. 4. Brahmas. 5. Gandhárwas. 6. Garundas. 7. Nágas. 8. Yakás. 9. Khumbandas. 10. Asúrs. 11. Rákshas. 12. Prétas, and other monsters. 13. The inhabitants of the narakas. In addition to these intelligences, we have the beast of the fields, the fowls of the air, the fish of the waters, and beings engendered from filth and excrement. All orders of being are included in one or other of the five zati, or conditions :—

1. Déwa, divine. 2. Manusya, human. 3. Préta, monstrous. 4. Tirisan, brute. 5. Niraya, infernal.

There are two orders that are more essentially buddhistical than the others, the Pasé-Budhas and the Rahats. The Pasé-Budhas are inferior to the Supreme Budhas, and never appear in the same kalpa. They learn the way in which nirwána is to be obtained by their own unaided power, but they cannot teach it to others, even as a dumb man, though he may have seen a remarkable dream, cannot explain it. In previous births, they must have practised certain prescribed virtues.

The being who has entered the last of the four paths leading to nirwána is called a Rahat. He is free from that which is regarded by the Buddhists as the root of all evil, the cleaving to sensuous objects. He possesses powers of the most stupendous description, and his knowledge upon religious subjects is free from the least admixture of error. In some cases, the Rahatship was received in an instant; but in every case there had been the exercise of the prescribed course of discipline, in previous states of existence. The cleaving to sensuous objects being the cause, physical as well as moral, of re-production, when this principle becomes extinct, the results it previously produced are no longer presented. Therefore, at the death of the Rahat, existence ceases for ever.

III. *The Primitive Inhabitants of the Earth.*—After the last destruction of the Great Earth, another earth was produced, by the united merit of the sentient beings that existed in the

superior worlds. In process of time, some of the Brahmas came from these worlds to inhabit the earth. They were, at first, of most splendid appearance, enlightening the earth by their own brightness, so that there was no need of any heavenly luminary, and they lived together in purity and peace. But one of the Brahmas having tasted of a substance that began to form on the surface of the earth, found it to be so delightful to the palate, that he was tempted to taste again; and as others imitated his example, the glory proceeding from their persons was gradually lost.\* By the power of their merit, they now created the sun, moon, and planets. From continuing to eat of the terrene production, their bodies became gross, and a difference began to appear in the colour of their skin, some being dark and others fair. Other edible substances appeared in succession, each more gross than the preceding, and from subsisting upon them, the apertures of the body were produced, the generative organs were developed, and then followed passion and sexual intercourse. By this time the substances had ceased to arise spontaneously, and that the means of substance might be procured, the cultivation of the ground was commenced, whence arose the idea of property, and the necessity of territorial division. This was followed by contentions relative to personal rights, and the commission of theft; and a general wish was expressed that some mode of government should be appointed, to restrain the evil-doers. Accordingly, the Brahmas assembled, and chose one of their number to be their king, from whom proceeded the race of the sun and the caste of kings. Some of the Brahmas, grieved by the wickedness of others, began to reprove them, on which account they were called Brahmaná, (Suppressors,) and from them arose the caste of brahmins. Others applied themselves to agriculture and commerce, and from them proceeded the caste of merchants. Others, again, began to hunt in the forest, whence they were called ludda, or sudda, and from them came the Sudras. The observances of the sramana, or asceticism, were indiscriminately practised by all the castes. Thus, all men were originally of one caste; and the difference that was afterwards presented arose from acts that were voluntarily exercised; so that caste is not, as with the brahmins, an essential and immutable ordinance, but the result of circumstances.

IV. *The Budhas who preceded Gútama.*—The succession of the Budhas is infinite in its duration. There ever have been Budhas, and there ever will be, after certain intervals. The

\* This seems clearly to be a mythical legend derived from the history of Adam and Eve.—ED C. R.



Singhalese suppose, that all traces of the Budhas, who preceded Gótama, are lost, with the exception of such particulars as were revealed respecting them by the great sage and his Rahat, who spoke from intuition. But it is thought by many orientalists, that Gótama was only the reviver of a system that had previously existed. The Budhas differ in caste, size, age, and other personal attributes, but as they are all equally limitless in power and in knowledge, their doctrines are necessarily the same. In the present kalpa, there have been four Budhas, viz. Kakusanda, Kónágamana, Kásyapa, and Gótama; and another Budha is yet to appear, who will be called Maitrí. We have little information relative to the innumerable Budhas who have appeared, until we come to the twenty-four who have immediately preceded Gótama, of each of whom we have a few particulars, and a detail of names and offices connected with their mission.

V. *Gótama Bódhisat*.—The beings who will afterwards become Budha are called, in their incipient state, or during their preparatory births, Bódhisat. We have the history of Gótama Bódhisat in various states of existence, which are divided into three eras—of resolution, of declaration, and of nomination. The narrative of these by-gone births is contained in a popular work, called *The Book of the Five Hundred and Fifty Births*. In each Játaka, there is a legend of Gótama, of more or less extent, setting forth some act that he did, or some virtue in which he excelled. A great part of the reverence with which Gótama is regarded, arises from the supposition, that in numberless births he voluntarily endured untold afflictions and trials, that he might thereby obtain the power to teach sentient beings the path to nirwána, and release them from the troubles of successive existence. Myriads of ages ago, he might have become a Rahat, and thereby ceased to exist; but he chose rather to continue in the stream of births, that he might become the light of the three worlds. The ten primary virtues of the Bódhisat are called Páramitás, and of these virtues, one is prominently presented in each birth. As an instance, we may record the example illustrating the virtue of determined resolution:—"At a certain time, Gótama Bódhisat was born as a squirrel, on account of some demerit of a former age. In the forest, he was attentive to his young ones, providing for them all that was necessary; but a fearful storm arose, and the rivers overflowed their banks, so that the tree in which he had built his nest was thrown down by the current, and the little ones were carried along with it far out to sea. But

‘ Bódhisat determined that he would release them; and for this purpose he dipped his tail in the waves, and sprinkling the water on the land, he thought in this manner to dry up the ocean. After he had persevered seven days, he was noticed by Sekra, who came to him and asked what he was doing. On being told, the déwa said, ‘ Good squirrel, you are only an ignorant animal, and therefore you have commenced this undertaking; the sea is 84,000 yojanas in depth, how then can you dry it up? Even a thousand, or a hundred thousand men, would be unable to accomplish it, unless they were Rishis.’ The squirrel replied, ‘ Most courageous of men, if the men were all like you, it would be just as you say, as you have let the extent of your courage be known by your declaration; but I have no time just now to spend with such imbeciles as you, so you may be gone as soon you please.’ Then Sekra caused the young squirrels to be brought to the land, as he was struck with the indomitable courage of the parent. Thus was fulfilled the wírya-páramitá.” In the various ages in which Gótama was a candidate for the Budhaship, he gave, in vicarious acts of charity, more blood, from his own person, than there is water in the great oceans; more flesh than the bulk of a thousand worlds; more eyes than there are stars in the heavens: and more heads than there are atoms in Méru.

It was not always in the world of men that Gótama was born, but he avoided the superior brahma-lókas; as the age to which their inhabitants live is so great, that it would have postponed to too distant a period the reception of the Budhaship, had he entered upon any of these states. When in the present world, he was not always born of the human species, but he was never any kind of vermin, and never smaller than a snipe. As the Sujáta Játaka is translated without abbreviation, and is of a convenient length for our pages, we select it for insertion, though not of equal interest with some of the other Játakas that appear in the *Manual*:—

“ It came to pass, that whilst Gótama resided in the Wihára called Jetawana, near the city of Lewet, he related the following Játaka, on account of an ascetic who had lost his father. In what way? Budha having perceived that an ascetic, who had lost his father, endured great affliction in consequence, and knowing by what means he could point out the way of relief, took with him a large retinue of priests, and proceeded to the dwelling of the ascetic. Being honorably seated, he enquired, ‘ Why are you thus sorrowful, ascetic?’ to which the bereaved son replied, ‘ I am thus sorrowful on account of the death of my father.’ On hearing this, Budha said, “ It is to no pur-

‘ pose to weep for the dead ; a word of advice is given to those  
 ‘ who weep for the dead thing that is past and gone.’ In  
 ‘ what manner? That which follows is the relation :—

“ In a former agé, when Brahmadata was king of Benares,  
 ‘ Bódhisat was born of a wealthy family, and was called Sujáta.  
 ‘ The grandfather of Sujáta sickened and died, at which his  
 ‘ father was exceedingly sorrowful ; indeed, his sorrow was so  
 ‘ great, that he removed the bones from their burial-place, and  
 ‘ deposited them in a place covered with earth, near his own  
 ‘ house, whither he went thrice a day to weep. The sorrow  
 ‘ almost overcame him, he ate not, neither did he drink. Bó-  
 ‘ dhisat thought within himself, that it was proper to attempt  
 ‘ the assuaging of his father’s grief ; and, therefore, going to the  
 ‘ spot where there was a dead buffalo, he put grass and water  
 ‘ to its mouth, and cried out, ‘ Oh, buffalo, eat and drink!’  
 ‘ The people concluded that he was out of his mind, and went  
 ‘ to inform his father, who, forgetting his parent from his affec-  
 ‘ tion for his son, went to the place where he was, and enquired  
 ‘ the reason of his conduct. Sujáta replied, “ There are the  
 ‘ feet and the tail, and all the inferior parts of the buffalo  
 ‘ entire ; if it be foolish in me to give grass and water to a  
 ‘ buffalo, dead, but not decayed, why do you, father, weep for  
 ‘ my grandfather, when there is no part of him whatever to be  
 ‘ seen?” The father then said, ‘ True, my son, what you have  
 ‘ told me is like the throwing of a vessel of water upon fire ; it  
 ‘ has extinguished my sorrows ;’ and thus saying, he returned  
 ‘ many thanks to Sujáta.

“ This Sujáta Játaka is finished. I, Budha, am the person  
 ‘ who was then born as the youth Sujáta.”

VI. *The Ancestors of Gótama Budha.*—The ancestry of  
 Sudhódana, the father of Gótama, is traced in this chapter  
 from Maha Sammata, the first monarch chosen by the brah-  
 mans. This king, and twenty-seven of his lineal descendants,  
 reigned each an Asankya, and retained, in a considerable de-  
 gree, the original splendour of their race. There then fol-  
 lowed 84,000 kings of the Mahádéwa race, of inferior digni-  
 ty, each of whom reigned 336,000 years. The Okkáka race  
 succeeded, of which there were two dynasties, and in each  
 100,000 kings. During the existence of this race, the age  
 of man gradually decreased, until it arrived at its present  
 length. The last of the kings of this race, who reigned at  
 Benares, was called Amba, and his principal queen Hasta, by  
 whom he had four sons and five daughters. After the death of  
 Hasta, Amba married a young maiden, by whom he had a son,  
 Janta ; and as this queen, by her wiles, prevailed on him

to grant the succession to her son, the other princes were sent from the city, accompanied by their sisters, to seek their fortune in some other part of the world. The banished princes were led to choose Kapilawastu, or Kimbulwat, not far from the borders of Nepaul, as their residence; they married their sisters, making the elder sister the queen-mother, and from these progenitors, and at this place, arose the race of Sákya. After 222,769 princes had reigned at Kapila, the kingdom was received in hereditary succession by Jayaséna, after whom came Singa-hanu, and then Sudhódana, the father of Gótama Budha. It is said, that from Maha Sammata to Sudhódana, in lineal succession, there were 706,787 princes, but how this result is worked out does not appear. There are various legends in the chapter, some of which have a striking parallel in the fabulous histories of ancient Europe.

VII. *The Legendary Life of Gótama Budha.*—In our Number already referred to, (December, 1851,) we have noticed the principal circumstances in the earlier part of the life of Gótama; and shall, therefore, to avoid repetition, omit some details that it would otherwise have been necessary to transcribe.

The last state of existence, in which Gótama lived, previous to his birth, as the son of Sudhódana, was in one of the Déwalókas. His conception was attended by the occurrence of thirty-two great wonders, by which his expected appearance became known to 10,000 other sakwalas. His mother, on her way from Kapila to Kóli, the residence of her royal parents, turned aside to visit the garden of Lumbini. Admiring its beauties, she approached a sal tree, which bent its branches around her of its own accord; and whilst she was in this sylvan retreat, the birth of her wonderful child commenced. He was received by Maha Brahma in a golden net, who said to his mother, "Rejoice, for the son you have brought forth will 'be the support of the world.'" The principal déwas and brahmas of 10,000 sakwalas immediately assembled, and presented to the future Budha an offering of flowers, exclaiming, "Thou art the greatest of beings; there is here no one like 'thee; no one greater than thee; thou art supreme.'" The destiny of the child was foretold by Káladéwala and other brahmans. Every precaution was taken by his father to prevent his becoming a recluse, as he wished that he should forego the Budhaship, and enjoy the honours to which he was born as a prince. Five days after his birth, he was named Sidhártta, and in his sixteenth year he was married to the princess Yasódhara. On the day of the birth of his first-born, he sported in one of the

royal gardens, and was unusually cheerful and merry ; but when the birth of his son was announced to him, he resolved to put into practice the wish he had previously formed, to abandon the world and all its pleasures for ever. On returning to the palace, he had a parting glance at his wife and child, who were both asleep at the time, and then retired into the wilderness. He cut off his hair with his own hand, that he might assume the appearance of a mendicant ; but the robe, and the other requisites for a course of asceticism, were brought to him by supernatural means. Seven days he remained without food, but afterwards went to the city of Rajagaha (Rajagriha), which he entered by the eastern gate, and went in regular order from house to house with the alms-bowl.

We insert the account of his visit to Rajagaha, at that time the capital of Magadha, that the manner of the legends that are connected with this part of Gótama's history may be the better understood.

" At this season," we are told in the *Manual*, " there was celebrated in the city a nekata festival, caled *Æsala-keli*, which commenced on the seventh day of the moon ; and as all the citizens had left their usual employment to see the sports, not fewer than sixteen kelas of people gathered around him to gaze upon his beauty. Some said that the regent of the moon, through fear of the asur Ráhu, had come down to the earth ; others, that it could not be the regent of the moon, but that the Déwa Ananga had come to see their festival ; but others said, that it could not be the Ananga, as his body was half-burnt by Maha Jowara, but upon this recluse they could see no fire. It was then argued, that he was Sekra ; but others replied, ' How you talk ? How can it be Sekra ? Where are his thousand eyes ? Where are his elephants, his discus, and his throne ? It must certainly be Maha Brahma, who has come to see if the brahman ascetics are diligent in the study of the four vedas.' Others again maintained, that it was neither one nor other of these beings, but a holy personage who had appeared to bless the world. The citizens informed the king Bimsara (*Vimbasa*), that a mysterious being was seen ; but whether he were a Yaká, a Déwa, a Brahma, or Vishnu, they were unable to tell. The king went to look at him from one of the towers of the palace ; but he said to his courtiers, ' I cannot decide whether it be a déwa or not ; but let some one follow him when he leaves the city, and watch him ; if he be a demon (one not a man), he will vanish ; if he be a déwa, he will ascend to the sky ; if a nága, he will descend into the earth ; if a garunda, he will fly away like a bird ; but

if a man, he will eat the food he has received, in some convenient place.' When the prince had received as much food as was sufficient, he retired from the city of the rock Sándhawa, and under the shade of a tree began to eat the contents of his alms-bowl. Previous to this time, he had always been accustomed to the most delicate fare; but even the sight of what he had now to eat, was enough to turn his stomach, as he had never seen or touched such food before; but he reflected that it was necessary he should endure such hardships, if he wished to become Budha, and that he must conform in all things to the precepts. Thus he spake unto himself, 'Sidhárta, thy body is not of polished gold; it is composed of many elements and members; this food, entering into the house of my body, will be first received into the mortar of my mouth, when it will be pounded by the pestle of my teeth; sifted by the winnow of my tongue, and mixed with the liquid of my saliva; after which it will descend into the vessel of my abdomen, and pass into the oven of my stomach, there to be again mixed with the water of my gastric juice, and reduced by the fire of my digestive faculty; the fan of my wind will blow this fire; in sixty hours (a day) this food will turn to excrement, and be expelled. This food is, therefore, clean and pure in comparison with that into which it will be converted. Sidhárta! thy body is composed of the four elements, and this food is the same; therefore, let element be joined to element.' By these meditations, he overcame his antipathy to the food and swallowed it.

"The messengers informed the king, that the recluse had eaten the food, whereupon, Bimsara went to the rock, and enquired what was his name and family, when he discovered that in former years he had been his own friend. On learning the dignity of the prince's character, he expostulated with him, and said, 'What is this that you are doing? No prince of your exalted race was ever before a mendicant. There are connected with Rajagaha 80,000 inferior towns, and eighteen kelas of people; the countries of Anga and Magadha are 300 yojanas in extent, and bring me in a countless treasure. The city was once the residence of a Chakrawartti; and even now there are the five grades of nobles; therefore come, and divide the kingdom with me.' But the prince replied, 'In seven days I shall reject the Chakrawarttiship; so that if I were to take the half of your kingdom, it would be like throwing away the magical jewel, chinta-mánikya, for a common pebble. I want not an earthly kingdom; I seek to become Budha.' The king tried in many ways to overcome his objections; but as he could not prevail, he received from him

‘ a promise, that when he began to promulgate his doctrines, his first discourse should be delivered in Rajagaha. The king then returned to the city.”

Soon afterwards, Gótama retired to the wilderness, where he remained six years, practising austerities; but the object of his ambition was not thereby gained. At the end of this period, he had a severe contest with Wasawartti Mári, said to be the ruler of one of the *déwa-lókas*, but evidently a personification of the power of evil.

The sun had not gone down, when the prince overcame Mára. At the tenth hour, he received the wisdom by which he knew the exact circumstances of all the beings who have ever existed in the endless and infinite worlds. At the twentieth hour he received the divine eyes by which he saw all worlds as clearly as if they were close at hand. At the tenth hour after midnight, he received the knowledge that unfolds the causes of the repetition of existence. At the dawn of the day, every remain of evil desire being destroyed, a Supreme Budha was revealed to the wondering world. The moment that the prince became Budha, like a vessel overflowing with honey, his mind overflowed with the ambrosia of the truth, and he uttered certain stanzas, thus translated by Mr. Gogerly :—

“ Through various transmigrations  
I must travel, if I do not discover  
The builder whom I seek ;  
Painful are repeated transmigrations !  
I have seen the architect (and said)  
Thou shalt not build me another house ;  
Thy rafters are broken,  
Thy roof-timbers scattered ;  
My mind is detached (from all existing objects)  
I have attained to the extinction of desire.”

By the builder, as we shall afterwards more clearly see, we are to understand *upádána*, the cleaving to sensuous objects, and *karma*, moral action.

The first offering that he received after he became a Supreme Budha, was from two merchants, from whom he received some delicious honey. Previous to this, he had not taken any food whatever for the space of forty-nine days. Among his earliest converts were fifty-four princes of Kósala, and a thousand fire-worshippers. Serizut and Mugalan, who afterwards became his two principal disciples, were led to embrace his faith, by hearing one of his priests repeat the well-known stanza :—

“ All things proceed from some cause ;  
This cause has been declared by the Tathá Gata ;  
All kings will cease to exist :  
This is that which is declared by the Maha-Sramana.”

Not long afterwards, Gótama held a convocation, at which 1,200 Rahats were present, when he repeated the stanza which is frequently seen in connexion with the above *confessio fidei*.

“ This is the advice of the Budhas,  
Avoid all demerit,  
Obtain all merit,  
Cleanse the mind from all evil desire.”

On a visit that Gótama paid to his native city, his father confessed his faith in the doctrines of his gifted son ; and Ráhula, his own son, and Nanda, his half-brother, embraced the priesthood. In the ninth month after he received the Budhaship, he visited Ceylon, and on two subsequent occasions, he did the island a similar honour, the accounts of which are not confined to the Singhalese, but are known also to the people of Tibet.

One of the most extended of the legends refers to Jíwaka, who gave medicine to Gótama ; and it is of some interest, as illustrating the nature of some of the surgical operations that must have been practised at the time it was written. The great sage was not put to much inconvenience by his physician. In this way was the medicine given. Jíwaka, after making the necessary enquiries, discovered that there were three causes of the disease ; and in order to remove them, he prepared three lotus flowers, into each of which he put some drug that he had prepared. The flowers were then given to Budha at three separate times, and by smelling at them the desired effect was produced.

An attempt was made to injure the character of Gótama, by a female unbeliever, Chinchí, who, at the instigation of the Tirttaka heretics, accused him of incontinence ; but his innocence was fully proved, by the interposition of Sekra.

The visit paid by Gótama, in the course of his ministry, to the celestial worlds, is a favourite subject of illustration among Buddhist authors. “ At three steps,” the legend informs us, “ Budha went to the loka of Sekra, that he might preach to the déwas and brahmas. The déwa thought within himself, ‘ when he knew of his approach, ‘ My throne is sixty yojanas long, fifty broad, and fifteen high ; how, then, will Budha appear when seated on it, as he is only twelve cubits high ? ’ But as this was the principal throne, and no other could be offered to Budha, he prepared it for his reception, and went with a great retinue to meet him. When Budha seated himself upon the throne, it became exactly the proper size, being no higher than his knee. As he knew the thoughts of Sekra, in order to show his great power, he caused his robe to extend



' itself on all sides, as the déwas were looking on, until it became  
' more than a thousand miles long and eight hundred broad,  
' and covered the throne, so that it appeared like a seat prepared  
' expressly for the saying of *bana*. Then Budha appeared as  
' if of proper size for the throne; the seat and its occupant  
' were equal to each other. And when the déwas saw this display  
' of his power, the whole assemblage offered him adoration.

" As the people (in the world of men) did not see Budha,  
' they began to be uneasy, and enquired of Mugalan whither  
' he had gone; but he sent them to Amirudha, that that priest  
' might have an opportunity of exhibiting his great knowledge.  
' By the priest they were informed, that the sage had gone to  
' Tawutisá, where he would keep the ordinance called *wass*,  
' so that three months must elapse before he could return. On  
' hearing this, the people expressed their willingness to remain  
' during that period, and pitched their tents in the same spot.  
' Then Anépidu, the upásika, proclaimed that he would supply  
' the whole company with whatever they might require, whether  
' garments, food, water, or fuel, until the arrival of Budha.  
During this period Mugalan said *bana*, and answered the  
questions that were proposed to him. All lived together in  
friendship and peace: the natural secretions were not formed,  
they were like the inhabitants of Uturukuru. The multitude  
extended to thirty-six yojanas. When Budha said *bana* in  
Tawutisá, they heard his voice, and knowing whence it proceeded,  
they clapped their hands. By this hearing of *bana*,  
many were enabled to enter the paths.

" The déwas, with Mátru as their chief, requested Budha  
to open the door of Abhidhármma, which had been shut during  
a whole budháutara, and to agitate the sea of the Abhidhármma,  
as the fish-king Timingala agitates the ocean; as from the day he  
became Budha, like men athirst seeking for water, they were  
continually looking out for the period when the unfolding of the  
Abhidhármma should commence. Then Budha lifted up his voice,  
the sound filling the whole Sakwala as with a delightful perfume,  
and said, ' Kusala-dhámma, akusala-dhámma, awyakha-dhámma,'  
these being the first words of the Abhidhármma, which is divided  
into eight prakaranas. The full meaning of the Abhidhármma  
is known to the Budhas alone; even the déwas and brahmas  
cannot attain to it; when, therefore, it was declared by Gótama  
to the beings assembled in Tawutisá, it was in a simplified manner,  
as they were capable of understanding it. When he began, the  
various beings reflected thus, ' Is this the Abhidhármma? we had  
heard that it was so profound that no one could understand it.'

“ Budha saw their thoughts, and as he proceeded, the manner of his discourse made its meaning gradually deeper. Then the beings were able to understand some parts, and not others, it was like an image seen in the shadow. They said *sádhu* in approbation, the words still becoming more and more profound. The *Abhidhármmama* now became to them like a form seen in a dream; its meaning was hid from them, and was perceived by none but *Gótama*. Not understanding any part, they remained like imagery painted upon a wall, in utter silence. In a little time Budha again simplified his discourse, when they once more expressed their approbation, and began to think, ‘ The *Abhidhármma* is not so difficult, it is easy to understand,’ which, when the preacher perceived, he gradually passed to a profounder style. Thus, during half a night, Budha rapidly declared the bana of the *Abhidhármma*. In the time occupied by others to say one letter, *Ananda* says eight; in the time that *Ananda* says one, *Seriyut* says eight; in the time that *Seriyut* says one, Budha says eight; so that Budha can repeat 512 letters as rapidly as the priests can repeat one. When in *Tawutisá*, he repeated the bana thus quickly, because the apprehension of the *déwas* was of equal celerity.

“ In one hundred of our years the *déwas* eat but once; and had Budha taken his accustomed meals in their presence during the period he performed wass in *Tawutisá*, they would have thought that he was always eating. Therefore, at the usual hours of refection, he caused another Budha to appear and occupy his place, whilst he himself went to the *Anotatta* lake, and, as his alms-bowl here came to him in a miraculous manner, he took it to *Uturukuru*, where he received food. At this time *Seriyut* and 500 priests called *Waggula* were in *Sakaspura*, keeping wass. When Budha had eaten the food he received in *Uturukuru*, he went to the same city, and at the request of *Seriyut* repeated all that he and the representative of Budha had said to the *déwas*. It would have occupied too much time to repeat the whole, and it was therefore spoken in an abridged form; but such was the wisdom of *Seriyut*, that when Budha declared to him one thing, from that one he learnt a hundred. The things he thus learnt, he was commanded by *Gótama* to teach in full to the 500 *Waggula* priests, who would afterwards be able to teach others, and thus the words of the *Abhidhármma* would be preserved to future ages for the benefit of the faithful. When the rehearsal was concluded, Budha returned to the *déwa-lóká*, and causing the other form to disappear, took its place. This occurred daily.

“ The Abhidhármma was completed when three months of wass had passed over, and at its conclusion the Déwa Mátru (the mother of Gotama, now became a déwa) said to Budha, ‘ You who have been born from my womb so many times, have now rendered me a recompense. In one birth, from being a slave I became the wife of the king of Benares, that exaltation was not equal to the privilege I now receive. From the time of Pigumutura Budha, during a kap-laksha, you sought no other mother, and I sought no other son. Now, my reward is received.’ Not Mátru alone, but eighty kelas and a thousand déwas and brahmas entered the paths.

“ After eighty-three days had expired, the multitude assembled at Lewet, enquired of Mugalan when Budha might again be expected to appear. To ascertain this, the priest departed, in the presence of the people, to Tawutiséa, where he appeared before Budha, and asked when he would return to the earth, as the multitude of the faithful at Lewet had been waiting three months in the anxious expectation of seeing him. Budha informed him, that in seven days he should proceed to Sakaspura, to which place Mugalan was directed to bring the people from Lewet. On the return of the priest, after hearing the information he conveyed to them, the upásakas enquired the distance from Lewet to Sakaspura, and were told that it was thirty yojanas. They then asked how the young and the lame were to go such a distance; but Mugalan informed them, that by the power of Budha, and his own power, they would be enabled to go without any inconvenience, and in the same instant, more quickly than if they had gone upon swift horses, sooner than betel can be taken from the bag and mixed with the lime, they were transported through the air to Sakaspura as if it were in a dream.

“ The time had now arrived when Budha was to take his departure from the déwa-lóka. Sekra reflected that he had come from the earth at three steps, but that it would be right to celebrate his departure with special honours. He, therefore, caused a ladder of gold to extend from Maha Méru to Sakaspura. At the right side of this ladder there was another, also of gold, upon which the déwas appeared with instruments of music; and on the left there was another of silver, upon which the brahmas appeared, holding canopies, or umbrellas. These ladders were more than 80,000 yojanas in length. The steps in the ladder of Budha were alternately of gold, silver, coral, ruby, emerald, and other gems, and it was beautifully ornamented. The whole appeared to the people of the earth like three rainbows. When Budha

‘ commenced his descent, all the worlds from Awichi to Bhawagra were illuminated by the same light. The characteristic marks upon his person appeared to the multitude assembled at Sakaspura, as plainly as the inscription upon a golden coin held in the hand, and as they looked at him, they said to each other, ‘ Now he is upon the golden step,’ or the silver, or some other. Sekra preceded him on the same ladder, blowing the conch, whilst on the other ladders were the déwas and brahmas. The people who saw him thus honoured, all formed within themselves the wish to become Budhas.

“ The first to pay his respects to Budha on arriving at Sakaspura was Seriyut; and after he had worshipped the déwa of déwas, he enquired if all who had formed the wish to become Budhas would have their wishes gratified. Budha replied, ‘ If they had not performed the páramitás in former births, how could they have exercised the wish? Those who have superior merit will become Supreme Budhas; the next in order will be Pasé-Budhas; and the others will be priests. Thus all will receive one or other of the three Bóddhi.’ After this declaration had been made, Budha resolved upon giving evidence before the people of the superior wisdom of Seriyut. In the first place he asked a question, that those who had not entered the paths could answer; then he asked another, but they were silent, and those who had entered the first path answered. Thus each class was successively silent, and the one above answered as he passed to those in the second path, and the third, and then proceeded to the inferior (kshina,) the middle (triwidya-prápta,) and the chief (shatabhigny-áprápta) sráwakas, then to Mugalan and Seriyut; and to Seriyut alone. Last of all he propounded a question that the Budhas alone could answer. After this exercise, Budha said to Seriyut the words *bhuta-midang*, which the priest explained in a kóti of ways, though none of the other sráwakas, who were present, understood the meaning. As Seriyut proceeded, Gótama listened with the pleasure a father feels when witnessing the cleverness of his son, and then declared that in wisdom he was the chief of his disciples. All this honour was received by Seriyut, because in a former age he had given in alms a stylus and a blank book for the writing of the bana.”

More than one attempt was made to assassinate Gótama, which failed, necessarily, as it is not possible to take the life of a Supreme Budha. His brother-in-law, Déwadatta, envied him on account of the honours he received, and entered into an alliance with Ajásat, the wicked son of Bimsara, that by their

united power they might accomplish his destruction. They first employed a number of archers, but the intended assassins became priests, and their design was thereby frustrated. On another occasion, Déwadatta hurled an immense stone at Budha, by the help of a machine, but in its passage through the air it broke into two pieces, and a small portion, rolling towards the sage, struck his foot, without inflicting any further injury. An enraged elephant was afterwards let loose against him, as he was passing through the streets of the city with his alms-bowl, but the moment that it heard his voice, it was pacified, and going towards him in the gentlest manner did him reverence. The king Ajásat was afterwards converted to Buddhism, but Déwadatta remained a sceptic until near the time of his death, when he began to relent, but it was too late, and he miserably perished.

After the exercise of his high office for the period of forty-five years, Budha prepared to pass away from the vicissitudes of existence, and enter nirwána. The cause of his dissolution was from partaking of an offering of pork, presented to him by the smith Chundar, a citizen of Páwa. On his way from this place to Kusinára, in Assam, he was taken ill, but was able, with great difficulty, to reach a garden of sal trees, to which the princes of Malwa were accustomed to resort for recreation. On entering it, he said to his attendant, "Ananda, I am weary, I wish to lie down." The princes were sent for; and on their arrival, he gave them a suitable exhortation. To the assembled priests, he also gave a solemn charge, and after saying, "I depart to nirwána; I leave with you my ordinances; the elements of the omniscient will pass away; the three gems will pass away;" he ceased to exist. The burning of his body was an imposing ceremony. His relics were carefully collected from the ashes, and distributed among certain princes and priests. These events are said, by the Singhalese authors, to have taken place in the year that, according to our mode of reckoning, would be B. C. 543, in the eightieth year of his age.

Mr. Hardy enumerates fifty-six instances in which the name of the great sage has been differently spelt by European authors. He has chosen the form Budha as being the most simple, but tells us that "the form Buddha is etymologically the most correct." The etymology of the other names, or epithets, by which Budha is known, are also given.

The fifty-two sections of this chapter present a more extended account of the founder of the system of Buddhism than is to be met with in any other English author. Many of the legends are wild and extravagant; but there can be no doubt that Góta-

ma was a real personage of royal parentage, the great promoter, if not the originator, of a system that was monastic in its discipline and atheistic in its doctrine, and that has spread more extensively, as to numbers, than any other form of error that has yet appeared among men.

VIII. *The Dignity, Virtues, and Powers of Budha.*—All the honours that the most fertile imagination can invent have been given to the Budhas. The eye cannot see anything, nor the ear hear anything, nor the mind think of anything, more excellent, or more worthy of regard. They are the joy of the whole world; the helpers of the helpless; having more merit than the most meritorious; the only deliverers. The lofty Maha Méru may be reflected in a mirror, the eye of a needle may be used as a comparison for the whole sky, even so may the words of a stanza be used to declare the excellence of the Budhas; but their power is utterly incompetent to accomplish the purpose aright. Were a rishi to create a thousand or a thousand thousand mouths, and with these to repeat the praises of the three gems (the Budhas, the Law, and the Priesthood) during the year of a maha-kalpa, even in this period the whole would not be declared.

The Budhas are men, born from the womb of a woman. Were they to appear as déwas or brahmas, their wisdom and power would be attributed to a wrong origin, and men would neither respect them aright nor put their trust in them.

Several attempts were made to measure the stature of Gótama, but they all failed, as he always appeared to exceed the scale of mensuration, and the power of the being who presumed to essay the trial, although on one occasion it was done by Ráhu, who is himself 4,800 yojanas high. He could walk in a space not larger than a mustard seed; and he could mount, at three steps, to the celestial regions. When he passed along the road, if there were any thorns, stones, roots, or other substances, that would have obstructed his progress, they removed from his path of their own accord; if there was mud, it became dry; if there were any elevations, they passed away, like butter that sees the fire, until the whole path was as level as the head of a drum; and the air around him appeared as if sweetened by perfumes.

The thirty hours of the night are divided into three watches. It was the custom of Gótama to sleep during one-third of the third watch, or three hours and one-third. In the first watch he said bana; in the second watch he answered questions put to him by the déwas; and in the first division of the third watch he slept, in the second exercised meditation, and in the

third looked abroad on the world, by his divine eyes, to see what being or beings should be caught in the net of truth during the day. His words were never intended to cause pain. A profusion of fine cotton, though in size like a rock, might fall upon any one without his being hurt; and thus lightly fell the words of Budha upon those whom he addressed.

There is no limit to the knowledge of the Budhas; and they are the only beings ever existent of whom this can be predicated. To the knowledge of all other beings, there is a limit. From the Budhas nothing can be hid; all times, as well as all places, are present to their mental vision; and they can see all things as distinctly as a man in a small apartment can see all things in it, at high noon, in clear weather. It is, however, rather the power to see all things than limitless vision; rather the power to know all things than actual omniscience. The king of Ságala, Milinda, asked the priest Nágaséna, "Does Budha know all things?" Nágaséna replied, "Yes; he knows all things, but the power that he possesses is not at all times exercised; this power is attached to thought, or there must be the exercise of thought to discover that which he wishes to know; what he wishes to know, he discovers in a moment, by the exercise of thought." Milinda: "Then if Budha must seek before he can find, if that which he sees has to be discovered by searching, he is not all-wise." Nágaséna: "The power of thought in Budha is exceedingly quick and subtle. I will explain to you how it is; but I can only do it in a very inadequate manner. Thus, in one gela, or load of rice, there are 63,660,000 grains; each of these grains can be separately considered by Budha in a moment of time. In that moment the seven-times gifted mind exercises this power."

IX. *The Ontology of Buddhism.*—This chapter will, by many readers, be regarded as the most interesting in the book. It presents a system that will be entirely new to the men of the west. It will be seen, that the tendency of the doctrines it exhibits is most withering; and we are led to enquire how it is, that so cold and cheerless a system should have gained so early, so extensive, and so permanent a hold upon the mind of Eastern Asia.

The essential properties of being are five in number, called the five khandas, viz., 1. Rupan, the organized body. 2. Wédana, sensation. 3. Sannyá, perception. 4. Sankháro, discrimination. 5. Winyána, consciousness. Of the Organized Body there are 28 constituents; of Sensation, 6; of Perception, 6;

of Discrimination, 55; of Consciousness, 89. As an example of the modes of explanation and illustration used by the Buddhists, we shall insert an extract from the 419th page, on the six faculties of Consciousness that are immediately connected with the senses:—

1. Chaksu-winyāna, eye-consciousness, in the eye, about the size of a louse's head, is that which perceives, or is conscious of, the sensible object, whether it be blue, golden, or any other colour. It receives its birth from the eye and the outward form. It was possessed by Gótama before his birth, whilst he was yet in his mother's womb; all other beings, in the same situation, possess only kayāwinyāna.

The eye of the body is surmounted by the eye-brow, and has within it a circle of a black colour, and another that is white; thus it is beautified, as the water-lily by its petals. As a drop of oil poured upon the uppermost ball of cotton, when there are seven balls suspended from each other, or poured upon the outermost when there are seven balls one within the other, soon makes its way through the whole of the seven balls; so the light entering into the eye by one of its folds or concentric layers, passes from that fold to the next, and so on in succession through the whole of the seven folds of the natural (as distinguished from the divine) eye. The four elements enter into the composition of the eye, but the winyāna is its principal faculty, as the prince is the chief of his followers or retainers.

It is not the eye that sees the image, because it has got no mind, chitta. If it were the eye that sees the image, it would see also by the other winyānas. Nor is it the mind that sees the image, because it has got no eye. If it were the winyāna that sees the image, it would see the image within the wall; it would penetrate into the inside of the solid opaque substance, as there would be nothing to prevent it; but it does not thus happen. When the eye and the image communicate with each other, or come into contact, then there is sight. It is necessary that there be the coming of light from the object to the eye. As the light does not come from within the wall, that which is within the wall cannot be seen. From within such substances as crystals and gems the light proceeds, so that that which is within them can be seen. When any object is seen, it is not seen by the eye alone nor by the winyāna alone. It is the chaksu-winyāna that sees it, though we say, in common language, that it is the eye. When the winyāna that is united to the eye, communicates, by the assistance of light, with any object that is presented before it, we say that the man who possesses that winyāna, sees that object. Thus we say that such an object is shot with the bow; but in reality it is not with the bow, but with the arrow, that it is shot; in like manner, it is not the eye that sees the image, but the winyāna; or rather, not the eye alone, nor the winyāna alone, but both united.

2. Srōta-winyāna, ear-consciousness, in shape like a thin copper ring, or like a lock of copper-coloured curled hair, or a finger covered with rings, is that which perceives the various sounds.

3. Ghuāna winyāna, nose consciousness, in the nose, like the footstep of a goat in shape, is that which perceives smell, whether it be agreeable or disagreeable.

4. Jiwā-winyāna, tongue consciousness, in the tongue, like the petal of a water lily in appearance, is that which perceives the different flavours.

5. Kāya-winyāna, body consciousness, is the perceiving of touch by the body. The exercise of this power is immediate, which none of the other winyānas are, as they require some medium of communication with the object before any effect is produced.



6. *Mano-winyāna*, mind consciousness, is the perceiving of the thoughts that are in the mind. *Manó* (in other places called *hita*, *sita*, and *chitta*) is the chief of the *winyānas*. It is like an overseer who continually urges on his labourers to work; like the first scholar in the school, who repeats his lesson, and is then followed by all the other scholars; or like the head workman, who sets all his men in motion when he himself begins to work.

As a large fish agitates the water in which it swims or sports, so the *hita* moves the *rupa*, or body. Its powers are brought into exercise rapidly, like the quick movements of a mother when she sees her child in danger of falling into a well.

The essential properties of existence are enumerated by *Budha*, in order to convince us that there is no self, or soul. We are to contemplate the unreality of our being, that we may learn to despise it, and try to secure its cessation. None of the *khandas* taken separately are the self, and taken conjointly they are not the self. There is no such thing as a soul, the home of a self apart from the five *khandas*. There can, therefore, be no such process as that which is generally understood by the term transmigration:—

In the commencement of the conversations that were held between *Milinda* and *Nāgasēna*, the king said, "How is your reverence known? What is your name?" *Nāgasēna* replied, "I am called *Nāgasēna* by my parents, and by the priests and others; but *Nāgasēna* is not an existence, or being, *puḍgala*." *Milinda*. "Then to whom are the various offerings made (that are presented to you as priest?) Who receives these offerings? Who keeps the precepts? Who enters the paths? There is no merit or demerit; neither the one nor the other can be acquired; there is no reward; no retribution. Were any one to kill *Nāgasēna* he would not be guilty of murder. You have not been instructed; nor have you been received into the priesthood. Who is *Nāgasēna*? What is he? Are the teeth *Nāgasēna*? Or is the skin, the flesh, the heart, or the blood *Nāgasēna*? Is the outward form *Nāgasēna*? Are any of the five *khandas* (mentioning each of them separately) *Nāgasēna*? Are all the five *khandas* (conjointly) *Nāgasēna*? Leaving out the five *khandas*, is that which remains *Nāgasēna*?" All these questions were answered in the negative. *Milinda*: "Then I do not see *Nāgasēna* *Nāgasēna* is a mere sound, without any meaning. You have spoken an untruth. There is no *Nāgasēna*." *Nāgasēna*: "Did your majesty come here on foot or in a chariot?" *Milinda*: "In a chariot." *Nāgasēna*: "What is a chariot? Is the ornamented cover the chariot? Are the wheels, the spokes of the wheels, or the reins, the chariot? Is the seat, the yoke, or the goad, the chariot? Are all these (conjointly) the chariot? Leaving out all these, is that which remains the chariot?" All these questions were answered in the negative. *Nāgasēna*: "Then I see no chariot; it is only a sound, a name. In saying that you came in a chariot, you have uttered an untruth. There is no chariot. I appeal to the nobles, and ask them if it be proper that the great king of all *Jambudwipa* should utter an untruth?" The five hundred nobles who had accompanied the king declared that his majesty had not previously met with any one whose arguments were so powerful, and asked him what reply he would give. *Milinda*: "No untruth have I uttered, venerable priest. The ornamented cover, the wheels, the seat, and the other parts; all these things united, or combined, form the chariot. They are the usual signs by which that which is called a chariot is known."

Nāgasēna : " In like manner, it is not the skin, the hair, the heart, or the blood that is Nāgasēna. All these united, or combined, form the acknowledged sign by which Nāgasēna is known ; but the existent being, the man, is not hereby seen. The same things were declared by Budha to the priestess Wajira : — ' As the various parts, the different adjuncts of a vehicle, form, when united, that which is called a chariot ; so, when the five khandas are united in one aggregate, or body, they constitute that which is called a being, a living existence.' "

The origin of being cannot be understood, unless it be by some one who is possessed of supernatural powers. The cause of *continued* existence is declared in the formula called patichasamuppāda. On account of ignorance, merit and demerit (kusala and akusala) are produced ; on account of merit and demerit, consciousness ; on account of consciousness, body and mind (rupa and nāma). Rupa is said to signify, according to the definition of the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, the material form ; nāma signifies the whole of the mental powers ; and by the two combined, we are to understand the complete being, body and mind. On account of body and mind, the six organs of sense are produced ; on account of the six organs of sense, touch, or contact ; on account of contact, desire ; on account of desire, sensation, (of pleasure or pain) ; on account of sensation, cleaving, or clinging to existing objects ; on account of clinging to existing objects, renewed existence ; on account of renewed existence, birth ; on account of birth, death, with its causes and consequences. When there is the cessation of ignorance, there is the cessation of all its educts. The whole body of sorrow evanishes, or passes away. Of the origin of ignorance we know nothing. No one but a Budha can tell how the chain of existence commenced.

The cause of reproduction after death is upādāna, which in the above formula is translated " the cleaving to existing objects." At death, the five khandas are dissolved. Their reciprocity of influence has ceased for ever. But the upādāna still exists, and on the breaking up of the khandas, it produces another being. It cannot but exert its power ; another being must necessarily be produced. The manner of its operation is, however, controlled by karma, literally action, which is said to be " the aggregate result of all previous acts, in unbroken succession, from the commencement of existence, in the births innumerable that have been received in past ages." When the karma is good, the being produced is in a state of happiness or privilege ; but if it be evil, the being is united to degradation and misery. Yet no sentient being can tell in what state the karma he possesses will appoint his next birth, however meritorious may be the acts of his present existence. In that

karma there may be some awful crime, committed myriads of ages ago, but not yet expiated; and like an hereditary disease, it may break out in uncontrollable violence in the next birth, whilst the result of present merit, though certain of ultimate accomplishment, may be postponed to an indefinite period. The most devoted Buddhist is thus deprived of all hope in death.

As it is the karma of the being, and not the being himself that receives a renewal of existence, it is evident that there is properly no moral responsibility. The karma is transferred to another being, of which it is in part the cause. The manner in which the Buddhists endeavour to avoid this conclusion, will be seen by the following extract from the *Milinda Prasna* :—

The king of Sāgal said to Nāgasēna, "What is it that is conceived?" Nāgasēna replied, "These two, nāma and rūpa." Milinda: "Are the same nāma and rūpa that are conceived here, or in the present birth, conceived elsewhere, or in another birth?" Nāgasēna: "No: this nāma and rūpa (or mind and body) acquires karma, whether it be good or bad: and by means of this karma, another nāma and rūpa is produced." Milinda: "Then if the same nāma rūpa is not again produced, or conceived, that being is delivered from the consequences of sinful action." Nāgasēna: "How so? If there be no future birth (that is, if nirvāna be attained), there is deliverance; but if there be a future birth, deliverance from the consequences of sinful action does not necessarily follow. Thus a man steals a number of mangos, and takes them away; but he is seized by the owner, who brings him before the king, and says, 'Sire, this man has stolen my mangos.' But the robber replies, 'I have not stolen his mangos; the mango he set in the ground was one; these mangos are other and different to that; I do not deserve to be punished.' Now, your majesty, would this plea be valid; would no punishment be deserved?" Milinda: "He would certainly deserve punishment." Nāgasēna: "Why?" Milinda: "Because, whatever he may say, the mangos he stole were the product of the mango originally set by the man from whom they were stolen, and therefore punishment ought to be inflicted." Nāgasēna: "In like manner, by means of the karma produced by this nāma and rūpa another nāma and rūpa is caused; there is therefore no deliverance (in this way) from the consequences of sinful action. (The same process is illustrated by the sowing of grain and the setting of the sugar-cane.) Again, a man lights a fire in the dry season, and by his neglecting to extinguish it, another fire is produced, which sets fire to his neighbour's rice-field, or to his field of dry grain. The owner of the field seizes him, and bringing him before the king, says, 'Sire, by this man my field has been burnt;' but the man replies, 'I did not burn his field; true, I neglected to put out a fire I had kindled, but the fire kindled by me was one, the fire that burnt his field was another;' would it be right that upon such a plea he should be released?" Milinda: "No; because the fire that did the damage was produced by the fire that he kindled and neglected to put out." Nāgasēna: "Again, a man takes a light, and ascending into an upper room, there eats his food; but whilst doing so, the flame of his lamp sets fire to the thatch of the roof; by this means the house is burnt, and not this house alone, but the other houses of the village. Then the villagers seize him, and say, 'Man, why did you burn our village?' But he replies, 'Good people, I did not burn your

village; I was eating my food by the light of a lamp, when the flame rose and set fire to the thatch of the roof; but the flame that I kindled was one, and the flame that burnt the house was another, and the flame that burnt the village was another.' Now were he to persist in this plea when brought before the king, the decision would still be given against him; for this reason, because the flame that burnt the village was caused by the flame from the thatch, and this flame was caused by the flame from the lamp. Again, a man gives money to a girl for a maintenance, that afterwards he may marry her; the girl grows up, when another man gives her money and marries her. Hearing this, the first man demands the girl, as he has given her money; but the other man replies, 'No; the girl to whom you gave the money was a child, but this is a grown-up young woman; she cannot therefore belong to you.' Now if such a plea as this were set up in the court, it would be given against the man who made it; for this reason, that the child had gradually grown into the woman. Again, a man purchases a vessel of milk from the cowherd, and leaves it in his hand until the next day: but when he comes at the appointed time to receive it, he finds that it has become curd; so he says to the cowherd, 'I did not purchase curd; give me my vessel of milk.' Now, if a case like this were brought before your majesty, how would you decide it? Milinda: "I should decide in favour of the cowherd, because it would be evident that the curd had been produced from the milk." Nāgasēna: "In like manner, one mind and body dies; another mind and body is conceived; but as the second mind and body is produced by (the karma of) the first mind and body, there is no deliverance (by this means) from the consequence of moral action."

These illustrations are not worthy of being called an argument; and it must be a singular phase of mind that can regard them as conclusive. The doctrine they would inculcate is too subtle to be comprehended by the general mind. Hence we see that among all Buddhists, with the exception of the learned few, the nexus between one state of existence and another is not the karma, the moral actions of the being, but the ever-living individuality.

X. *The Ethics of Buddhism.*—The superior prohibitions are divided into three sections. 1. Those that belong to the body, viz., the taking of life, the taking of that which is not given, and the holding of carnal intercourse with the female who belongs to another person. 2. Those of the speech, viz., lying, slander, abuse, and unprofitable conversation. 3. Those of the mind, viz., covetousness, malice, and scepticism. There are other evils that are to be avoided, such as the drinking of intoxicating liquors, gambling, idleness, improper associations, and the frequenting of places of amusement. These prohibitions refer to the householder only, and have no reference to the ten obligations that are binding upon the priest. The laws of the priesthood include the whole of the series here enumerated, with many others of much greater strictness.

The translations from the Singhalese authors that are given in the *Manual*, are so contrary to each other, that the sincere

Buddhist must often be in great perplexity how to act ; whilst the insincere have so many exceptions and reservations, that the precept becomes almost a dead letter. The following are some of the explanations relative to the taking of life, *prāna-ghāta*. "There are five things," we are told, in the *Sadharmamaratnakāra*, "necessary to constitute the crime of taking life. 1. There must be the knowledge that there is life. 2. There must be the assurance that a living being is present. 3. There must be the intention of taking life. 4. With this intention there must be something done, as the placing of a bow, or spear, or the setting of a snare ; and there must be some movement towards it, as walking, running, or jumping. 5. The life must be actually taken." "Under certain circumstances, one's own life may be given up, but the life of another is never to be taken." "He who takes the life of a large animal, will have greater demerit than he who takes the life of a small one ; because greater skill or artifice is required in taking the life of the former than of the latter. When the life of a man is taken, the demerit increases in proportion to the merit of the person slain ; the two extremes being, the sceptic and the *rahat*."

The obligation to observe the precepts is usually taken in the presence of a priest ; and it would seem to be supposed, that it is only when thus voluntarily taken that the observance ensures merit. Any number of the obligations may be taken ; and they may be taken for a limited period, or for as long as there is the power of observance, or until death. They may be taken either separately or together. When taken to be kept separately, though one should be broken, it does not impair the merit of the rest ; but if they are taken to be kept collectively, if one be broken, the whole are impaired.

"The moral code," says Mr. Hardy, at the conclusion of the chapter, "becomes powerless for good, as it is destitute of all real authority. Gôtama taught the propriety of certain observances, because all other Buddhas had done the same ; but something more is required before man can be restrained from vice, and preserved in the path of purity. There is properly no law. The Buddhist can take upon himself certain obligations, or resolve to keep certain precepts ; as many or as few as he pleases ; and for any length of time he pleases. It is his own act that makes them binding, and not any objective authority. Even when he takes the obligations, there is this convenient clause in the form that he repeats to the priest : 'I embrace the five precepts (or the eight, as the case may be) to obey them severally, as far as I am able, from this time forward.' From the absence of a superior motive to obedience,

‘ Buddhism becomes a system of selfishness. The principle set forth in the vicarious endurances of the Bódhisat is forgotten. It is a vast scheme of profits and losses, reduced to regular order. The disciple of Budlma is not taught to abhor crime, because of its exceeding sinfulness; but because its commission will be to him a personal injury. There is no moral pollution in sin; it is merely a calamity to be deprecated, or a misfortune to be shunned.”

The *Appendix* contains an account of the Singhalese MSS., whence the translations that appear in the *Manual* are taken. The principal are the Pansiya-panas-játaka, the Milinda Prasna, the Wisudhi Márgga, and the Amáwatura. The works vary in size from a few pages to 2,400 pages; and are written upon the leaf of the talipot, one of the largest having nine lines upon each page, and about 100 letters in each line.

Our task is now ended. In the epitome now furnished, of Mr. Hardy's new work, our readers are in possession of a more compendious, and, at the same time, more comprehensive and intelligible, account of Buddhism, than is anywhere else to be found. We trust, however, that this brief epitome of so vast and intricate a subject—a subject, too, so fraught with interest and importance, as regards the evangelization of hundreds of millions of our fellow-creatures, will only have the effect of whetting their appetite for a speedy perusal of the original work itself. Mr. Hardy undertook an adventurous and difficult task; and bravely has he encountered the difficulties, and nobly has he consummated his great design. And where ought he to look for sympathising readers, if it be not in the East? If it be not among intelligent European philanthropists, whose lot is cast in the midst, or in the immediate vicinity, of the millions that are the blinded votaries of the gigantic system of Buddhism, which he so vividly and elaborately portrays? We do trust, therefore, that this new work will meet with such a sale in the East as will encourage Mr. Hardy to persevere in his useful researches for the future, as well as repay him for all the toil and hazards of the past. It seems providential that such works as Mr. Hardy has now given to the world, should appear at the very time when the great rebellion in China is tearing up the mighty fabric of Buddhism there. And as India gave its Buddhism to China, let Christians in India be the foremost in manifesting an intelligent interest in all that is fitted to throw light on that stupendous system of error, and hasten on the emancipation of myriads from its destructive sway.

**ART II.—1.** *Buchanan's Journey to Mysore, Canara, and Malabar.* 1807.

2. *Madras Petition to Parliament.*

3. *Friend of India.*

WITHIN a few days of the commencement of the present century, Dr. Francis Buchanan entered the district of Canara, in the course of a journey “performed under the orders of the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, for the express purpose of investigating the state of agriculture, arts, and commerce, the religion, manners and customs, the history, natural and civil, and antiquities, in the dominions of the Rajah of Mysore, and the countries acquired by the Hon’ble East India Company, in the late and former wars, from Tippoo Sultan.” The results of the journey were published in three volumes, quarto, by order of the Court of Directors, in 1807. The work contains a great deal of valuable information on the varied subjects to which Dr. Buchanan’s attention was turned; but the book has now become scarce; and as it lays claim to no attractions of style or narrative, the lapse of half a century, with the changes induced, as well as the opening out of more accurate sources of information, have deprived the work of much of its interest with reference to Canara, except as a means of comparison between the state of a beautiful and fertile province, when it came under the British dominion, and the state of the same province after a little more than half a century of British rule.

For this purpose the work is invaluable, and we think that at the present moment it will not be uninteresting, if we endeavour to establish this comparison. We therefore propose to attempt, in this article, a slight sketch of the province, and to trace its progress in commerce and agriculture, from the date of Dr. Buchanan’s journey, to the present time.

We are not without hopes that this attempt may be of some practical use. The subject of British rule, and British institutions generally throughout India, is so vast and overwhelming, that it may be refreshing to turn from the wider field of enquiry, and to allow the eye to rest for a moment on one small spot. It may be useful to enquire how British institutions have worked there, whether population has increased, whether cultivation has extended, whether the value of land has risen, whether commerce has flourished, whether new sources of wealth have opened out, in consequence of the connexion of the country

with the home market; and if so, whether with these a field has been opened for the extension of British manufactures. It may be interesting to learn whether this province has received any of the fostering care of Government in the promotion of public works. To follow these questions through the history of a single province, may really give a more accurate idea of the vastness of the questions now under debate, than many sheets of statistical figures, which comprise, in one view, provinces inhabited by different nations, and affected by many varying causes, but still forming an integral part of what is known as British India.

At the same time, should our reader spread before him the map of India, and after looking with some patience, discover the position of the province, and find it a mere spot, it will be useful to remember that the description which we propose to attempt, is of a country of the length of England, and the area of Wales, that the population exceeds one million, that is, that it is more thickly peopled than Scotland, or Wales,\* and that the revenue raised upon the province is equal to that of the island of Mauritius, administered by its Governor and Legislative Council. This province is one out of twenty-one, placed under the controul of the Governor and Council of one of the minor Presidencies.

If, in the course of these enquiries, we should find reason to believe that the province has made greater advances than many others, in agricultural and commercial prosperity, we shall be tempted into the enquiry, how far this is due to advantages of position and seasons, and how far to the effects of local institutions, especially as affecting the tenure and assessment of the land.

If the reader will cast his eye upon the map of Southern India, and suppose the south-west monsoon to be rolling its masses of vapour from the ocean upon the land, he may conceive them spreading like a thick canopy over the narrow strip which forms the provinces of Malabar and Canara, and resting upon the line of Ghâts which separate those provinces from Mysore and Coimbatore. From the close of May to the beginning of September, the rain continues, with little intermission, to pour down upon the sea-ward districts and the sea-ward side of the mountain range; while masses of clouds occasionally over-top the higher mountains, or are blown through their gaps, and spreading in lighter vapour through the atmosphere, or falling in mild and fertilizing showers, give to the

\* Per square mile: Scotland 101, Wales 123, Canara 126, Prussia 128, England 297, Belgium 323.



line which runs along the eastern side of the Ghâts, one of the most delicious climates within the tropics. At this season the houses of the coast districts are covered with a casing of coconut leaves, which still fail to prevent the ruin of silk dresses and musical instruments, while books and pictures are reduced to a state of pulp. The ryot of the coast, with his coarse blanket thrown over his head, so as to form a pent roof on his shoulders, patiently defies the storm, and ploughs his terraced fields, secure that the prolonged rains will bring to maturity the seed which he entrusts to lands which need no artificial irrigation, while the European residents of Mercara in Coorg, and Ootacamund on the Neilgherries, hasten to take refuge behind the higher range, and exchange the tedious and dreary season for the Italian climate of Frazerpett and Co-tugherry.

If the reader examines the map still more closely, he will see that, although the waters fall chiefly on the western side of the mountains, they are drained off in two different directions. The great body swells the innumerable streams which flow from the Ghâts to the westward, and bears down a rich deposit of alluvial soil; its early course is rapid and impetuous, but as it nears the coast, it is checked by bars thrown up at the meeting of the sea tide, and compelled to spread and deposit its burden over the rich fields which border the rivers and surround their extensive back waters.

By a bountiful provision of Providence, the remaining body of water has a longer journey to perform. Several streams find their way through the Ghâts eastward, and after each yielding a portion of their waters at the bidding of man's industry, to fertilize the tracts through which they pass, they unite as much of their several streams as has surmounted the dams and escaped the artificial reservoirs, and under the name of their principal, the Cavery, they bear the unfailing bounties of the south-western monsoon through some of the hottest and driest lands of India. At frequent intervals they continue to dispense their invaluable treasure wherever the industry and ingenuity of man court the gift, and finally they spread in one wide sheet of cultivation over the delta of Tanjore.

The mountain range which we have thus described, does not mark the division of the waters more distinctly than it does that of the institutions of the people who inhabit the plains, into which its eastern and its western spurs gradually subside, while the mountains themselves give shelter to various tribes, differing in language and feature, from those of the plain, and

from one another, and each enjoying their peculiar institutions. The Todawars and the Badagas of the Neilgherries, and the brave and warlike Coorgs, are each a distinct mountain tribe.

How human institutions and social manners are modified by the physical conformation of a country, and affected by its climate, is a subject which has often been treated, but has not yet been exhausted. Mountains have often been the abode of liberty, but the "Mountain Nymph," though taking her name from these poetical regions, has not seldom deigned to dwell in flat and dreary marshes. An inaccessible situation, and a soil unfit to tempt the avarice of a conqueror, would seem to be the circumstances which generally determined her abode, and these were found not only in the mountains of Scotland, of Wales, of Switzerland, and of Coorg, but in the lagunes of Venice, and the meres of Holland, in the swamps of La Rochelle, and the fens of our own Lincolnshire and Glastonbury. The peculiar clanship of mountainous countries, whether in Scotland or the Pyrenees, may probably be traced to another physical cause, added to the sequestered position of their valleys; namely their varying soil. For it makes a wide difference in the manners of a people, whether they cultivate only one kind of produce, and must resort to a market for the rest of their wants, as is usual in flat countries, or whether they cultivate at once the slopes of a hill and the depths of a valley, where their fields, their orchards, their sheepwalks, and their meadows, supply them with most of the articles of their food and clothing, and render a visit to a fair or market a more rare occurrence.

These effects of the formation of the soil are more obvious, and have attracted more attention than those produced by the distribution of water; but it is to this distribution that many national peculiarities and local institutions have been accurately traced. Upon the district which we are about to describe, the effect is peculiarly striking.

A very marked difference, we have said, exists between the habits and customs of the people who are separated by this mountain chain.

The western coast is inhabited by tribes, among whom the rights of individual private property have been recognised from time immemorial. We found the soil in the possession of a class of independent proprietors, whose tenure, while it was more ancient, was as distinctly recorded, and as pertinaciously maintained, as that of the landlords of England. In the plains of the eastern coast, these rights had so far disappeared, that it was a point of controversy whether they had ever existed, and, even when they were most apparent, they appeared

in a less perfect form, vested not in individuals, but in village communities, or a kind of small republic interposed between the cultivators and the Government; institutions invaluable, no doubt, as the guilds of the middle ages; but a proof of imperfect rights and insecure individual tenure. While others traced to historical incidents these diversities in a tenure, and in the results which flow from them, Sir Thomas Munro, one of the most accurate of observers, derived them far more correctly from the physical position of the two countries with reference to the distribution of water. On one side of the mountain range this indispensable blessing is received direct from Heaven; on the other, as we have seen, through a channel which requires for its distribution the agency of man.

In the oldest book extant in the world, it had already been shown how greatly this difference may influence the happiness of a people. In contrasting the land of their captivity with the "land of God's promise, the Jewish leader had observed, "the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven: a land which the Lord thy God careth for: the eyes of the Lord thy God are upon it from the beginning of the year, even unto the end of the year. (Deut. xi.\*10,—12.) And if we follow the distribution of the water effected by this mountain range, we find precisely the same contrast between the flat and alluvial plains of the Caverry, and the hills and valleys of Canara, as between the delta of the Nile, and the terraced vineyards and sloping cornfields of Palestine and Lebanon. And the same social results have followed. In one we find the clustered cities, the superb temples, the potent priesthood, the very wealthy and the very poor, all the signs of property having run into masses; in the other the scattered homesteads, the village shrine, the sequestered farms, the more equable distribution of wealth, which comes nearest to the description of every man living under his own vine and his own fig tree.

We have given prominence to this subject, because the narrow strip of the western coast is thus widely different from the rest of the Madras Presidency. We may have occasion, in a future article, to follow the collected body of the eastward stream, which scarcely yields to the Nile in any point of interest, except the mystery of its source. It washes the walls of cities of no mean historical interest, and reflects the towers of temples superior in beauty, if not equal in magni-

tude, to those of Carnac. But our object would be to describe the works by which its blessings are spread over a rich but arid soil, to estimate the value of this great bounty of nature, and to examine the institutions through which its blessings reach the cultivator. Our present object is to describe the country situated to the westward of the mountain, and in a subsequent page we shall have occasion to revert to this leading feature, when we speak of its land tenures, upon which its bearing is all-important.

The district of Canara Proper lies between the Ghât mountains and the sea, extending from the frontier of the province of Malabar at Kavy, to that of the Goa territory, near Sedashegur. The length of the coast line is 230 miles. The breadth varies from eight to fifty miles. To this is to be added a tract of country above the Ghats, having a superficial area of 2,744 square miles, forming originally a portion of the kingdoms of Sonda and Bilgi.

The whole district, above and below the Ghâts, is estimated to contain 8,360 square miles, or 5,350,400 acres, of which, probably, about one million are cultivated.

Canara Payenghat consists, for the most part, of a series of rough undulations of laterite rock, intersected by numerous streams and broad estuaries. To the ravines and valleys formed by these streams, and to the sandy or alluvial soils which surround the estuaries or form the coast line, cultivation is principally confined. It is only very gradually that it is extending up the slopes of the hills on the coast.

Possessing in these valleys a fertile soil, continually renewed from its well-wooded mountains, the district abounds in the richest productions of tropical vegetation. It has its sandy sea-board lined with cocoanuts, its alluvial plains bearing their treble crop of rice, and rich patches of sugar cane; and its deep ravines at the foot of the mountains, crowded with pepper, cardamum, and betel palm. But in addition to these, the mountains rising from this base attain, in several places, a sufficient altitude, to display the vegetation of a temperate climate, and the teak, ebony and sandal, which clothe their base, give place to the raspberry, the salop, the wild rose and the violet. Intermediate between these is a plateau, on which wheat grows by the side of the rice and the sugar cane.

The continued rains of the S. W. monsoon, averaging about 120 inches a year, combined with a tropical sun, clothe each successive range with ever-varied forms of vegetable life, and to the botanist the district offers a boundless and an almost unexplored field. To the geologist also it offers many points o

interest, and the sources of the golden grains found in the sands of the mountain torrents, the laterite rock, the slate and the limestone, have hitherto been very cursorily examined. A portion of the province as yet unalluded to, adds a further subject of interest. Several islands of the Laccadive group, belong to Canara, and afford the opportunity of studying the coralline formation.

The scenery of the district is varied and beautiful. The estuaries of the coast are, in fact, broad salt-water lakes, studded with wooded islands, and surrounded by fertile alluvial plains, from which rise the undulating laterite hills, backed by the long waving line of the Ghât mountains. Passing from the coast to the interior, each depression in the laterite range is found to be a sequestered valley, the basin of which is occupied by rice fields, surrounded by gardens of cocoanuts, plantain, betel palm, and pepper vine. The thatched homestead of the proprietor appears among this thick vegetation, and scattered huts of his tenants and Dhers (late slaves) are surrounded by their clumps of garden trees.

A belt of forest clothes the undulating surface at the foot of the mountain range, and in travelling from the coast, this has to be passed before the ascent is commenced. In ascending from this level the timber becomes finer, the rocks are more abrupt, the torrents become waterfalls, and all the features of mountain scenery are met with in their grandest form. In the south of the district the westward streams take their rise on the western slope only of the mountains, and are but small detached torrents, until they unite into rivers at the base of the mountains. The Cavery, as described above, and the Toonga and the Budra, take their source in the mountains, and drain off to the eastward all that falls on the eastern slope. In the north of the district it is different; rivers which have collected the great body of the water on the eastern slopes, swelled by the drainage of an extensive table-land, have found a passage through the mountains westward. They burst the rocky barrier at a great elevation, and form, perhaps, the noblest falls in the world. Of these, the falls of Garisippa are the best known, and have, for some time past, attracted visitors from all parts of India. A scene more perfect in the combination of sublimity and beauty, is perhaps nowhere to be met with, than is afforded by the stupendous chasm of 890 feet, its dashing cataracts, and all the accessories of the most beautiful surrounding scenery. Every form of grandeur and loveliness, that foliage, rock, and water, can assume, are here presented. The Lushington falls, yielding in beauty only to those of Gari-

sippa, though situated within a few miles of the most frequented road, were concealed in the dense jungle, and unvisited till within the last few years; and it has since been discovered that the Gangawali river also reaches the lower level by a series of rapids, through a gorge affording scenes of the greatest magnificence.

Canara Balaghat, or the tract above the Ghâts, differs essentially from the coast district. It consists of the undulating crests of the mountains, gradually subsiding to the level of the Deccan. The magnificent jungle of the Ghâts gradually dwindles into stunted teak and saul, and finally disappears in the open plains of the Mahratta frontier. The scattered houses and farms are exchanged for clustered villages; and the double hedge which encloses them, and the towers of refuge which rise in their centre, shew that the border track came within the sweep of the mounted marauders. The talook of Soopah, extending from the semicircular frontier of Goa to the east and south, consists of a vast forest, in which a few higher and grassy undulations rise like far scattered islands. Cultivation is carried on in the deeper and well-watered glens, but seen from an elevation the shadows of the clouds seem to float over one uninterrupted sea of foliage. More than a million of acres are comprised within this talook, in which are included the Goand forests, abounding in teak and other valuable woods. To the southward the jungle is less continuous, and a mixture of grassy glades, and clumps of wood-land, form the characteristic of the Bilghi talook.

Canara is almost exclusively an agricultural country. The staple products are rice, betelnut, pepper, cardamums, cocoanuts and timber. The climate is unfavourable to manufactures, and unless the production of salt, by solar evaporation, be included under this head, they may be said to be unknown. But though not a manufacturing country, it is eminently a commercial one. Beyond the line of the Ghâts lie the fertile lands of Darwar, Bellary and Mysore, and the products of these countries find their way to the larger markets of the world through the ports of Canara; and we shall have occasion to show hereafter that wherever a passage has been opened through the Ghâts, a rich stream of produce has invariably poured from the table-land of the interior to the coast.

The principal ports are those of Mangalore, Cundapore, Butkul, Coompta, and Sedashegur. The principal trade is with Arabia, Cutch, Bombay, Malabar and Goa. The trade with Arabia, and through Arabia with Europe, is spoken of in the earliest annals of commerce, and Major Rennell and

Dr. Robertson have imagined that they identified the Musiris\* and Barace of ancient authors with the Meerjan and Barcelore of modern times. Both Meerjan and Barcelore have fallen from their greatness. Meerjan has been supplanted by the busy and rising, but inconvenient port of Coompta; and Barcelore or Busoor has shared the fall of Nugger, of which capital it may be considered to have been the sea port. Improved navigation has led commerce to seek, in more eastern regions, the pearls and other riches which, according to ancient authors, met the western merchants on this coast; but the pepper for which it was celebrated still attracts the traders of Arabia and Europe, and other sources of wealth have sprung up in abundance.

The connexion of our own nation with the district, dates from an early period, but has left but few traces. Some tombs of our fellow-countrymen, still to be seen at Butkul, bear the following inscriptions, and the site of this early settlement seems to show that the pepper-trade was their principal object, as the pepper of Canara is to this day generally named from "Butkole," where it is considered to be obtained of the finest quality.

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Here lyeth the body of William Barton, CHYRURGION.  
Dec. XXX. November, ANNO DOM. NRI. CHRISTI.  
Salv. Mundi MDC.

Here lyeth the body of George Wye, Merchant. Dec.  
XXXI. March, Anno Dom. NRI. CHRISTI SAL. MUNDI.  
MDCXXXVII.

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Here lyeth the body of Anto. Vern Worthy, merchant. Dec.  
I. April, Anno Dom. NRI. Christi Salv. Mundi. MDC  
XXXVII.

Could any records of this little settlement be obtained, they might throw some light on the geology of the coast, for local tradition states that the vessels of the foreigners ascended the river to the spot where their settlement then stood, and where

\* Heeren says, Muziris in Limyrica will be found in the present Mangalore, and Nelkynda survives in Neliceram. He elsewhere says the author of the *Periplus* speaking of Nelkynda, states that the Malabar thrum was brought thither from the interior, viz., Malabar thrum is the term used to denote betel. Can Nelkynda have any thing to do with Nikaond; the road through which would convey the betel to the coast from the gardens of Nūghi and Soonda?

their bodies now repose ; a fact which, if authenticated, would prove a remarkable change in the level of the coast, as no vessels can now ascend the river.

In more recent days our connexion with the country was of a warlike character. Canara had fallen into the hands of Hyder and Tippoo, and the forts of Rajamandroog, Honore, and Mangalore, were scenes on which the gallantry of our troops was prominently displayed. But these spots were occupied only as military posts, from which our forces might penetrate to the interior of the Sultan's dominions, and our occupation of the country, as the ruling power, dates from the fall of Seringapatam, in 1799. Our wish is to collect from the pages of Buchanan, and from official sources, indications of the condition of the country, when it passed into our hands, and to trace its progress up to the present time.

Not tradition only, but authentic records, handed from father to son, widely scattered through the district, as well as collected in public archives, prove that there was once a golden age in Canara, when the assessment on the land was equivalent only to the seed sown, and other imposts were almost unknown. The extensive ruins of ancient cities, specially of Guersippa, Moodbiddery, and Sissal, and the remains of magnificent avenues, still attest the wealth and beneficence of the rulers of the land, while the denseness of the population is indicated by the traces of field boundaries, on lands too high and poor to have been brought under the plough at any subsequent period. But exaction commenced at an early date. Between the years 1334 and 1347, (the time of our Edward III.) the Rajah of Bajanugger made a fresh assessment, which raised the Government demand nominally to one-sixth, and actually to one-fourth of the produce. In 1587 the country passed under the Bedarnore dynasty, and times grew worse and worse. The Mogul Peishkush, and the Mahratta Chout, each gave occasion for the state to levy fresh taxes upon the land, and a total revision of the assessment was made, by which it was greatly raised. The various heads of taxation consolidated by this revision, formed for a century the demand upon the land ; still, as large reductions were made under the name of enams, had exaction stopped there, the province might still have flourished, the actual collections being under thirteen lakhs of rupees.

But in 1764 the country came under the dominion of Hyder, and passing from him to the Sultan, its decline was rapid and complete. All enams were resumed, deductions for waste land were cancelled, and invention was racked for new sources of exaction. The demand was raised to thirty-two lakhs of



Rupees, and although only twenty-four lakhs reached the treasury of the Sultan, the remainder afforded boundless scope for extortion. Its population thinned by intestine feuds, its most industrious cultivators driven into banishment, its trade crippled by hostile fleets, and intercepted by swarms of pirates, its principal trading ports occupied by a foreign enemy, and beleaguered by the ill-disciplined plundering hordes of the Sultan, the country presented a scene of indescribable wretchedness. A number of petty poligars revived in the midst of this confusion the hereditary claims of their families to various portions of the district, and filled the country with plundering bands. Perhaps, after the decline of population, the strongest evidence of the universal wretchedness is that, among a people who cling to their lands with hereditary affection, twelve thousand estates, or about a fourth of the whole number, were abandoned by their possessors, and had lapsed to Government.

It required the firmness and genius of a Munro to restore order and confidence in the midst of confusion such as this, and to him the task was assigned on the cession of the country to the British; he was summoned from his labours in the Baramahl, to take charge of this new acquisition. When he entered the district, the petty chiefs openly resisted his authority, and the great body of the landholders revived a practice with which they had been familiar under weaker Governments, of organizing a passive resistance, and refusing to assemble to settle their rents. But they had to deal with a soldier and a statesman gifted beyond other men with the power of using severity and kindness, each exactly in its proper degree. One or two plundering Rajahs were hanged, and their bands dispersed, others were pensioned, and the Ryots saw nothing to encourage farther combination in the man who did not even offer to treat for terms, but calmly gave them time to dissolve their confederations. Major Munro remained in Canara for less than two years, when he was summoned to another field of labour, in the ceded districts; but in that time he had made himself acquainted with the financial history of the province, and traced back for centuries the proprietary right in the land, which he found in full force, though overlaid by the exactions of the late Government. He saw that there existed here what it had been the labour of his master, Read, and of himself, to create in Salem,—a body of landholders, owning properties of varying sizes, the spontaneous growth of a Ryotwari system. He saw that peace, and a reduction of the excessive Government demand, was all that the country required, and recom-

mending to Government as liberal a reduction of the exactions of later rulers, as he considered the Government of those days likely to concede, he handed over the country, divided into two collectorates, to his successors, one of whom was the nephew of his master and friend, Read; and after laying down the line of policy which he recommended them to pursue, left for the ceded districts, there to resume the labour of laying the foundation for future prosperity, by a Ryotwari settlement.

It was just as Munro left the district that Dr. Buchanan's mission took place. He found the province in profound peace, but the traces of its late troubles were still fresh, and commerce and cultivation were only beginning to revive. To compare the state of the country then with what it now is, we shall select a few of the more prominent points which caught the eye of the traveller in his progress through the district, and compare his descriptions with existing facts, and afterwards collect some of a more general nature from his work, and from official sources.

Dr. Buchanan entered the district from the south; and his first observations have reference to a tract of country belonging to Malayala, one of the three principal and well-defined divisions, of which the province is composed.\* The forts which stud this part of the country are sufficiently indicative of the former condition of its inhabitants. From Cavay to Bekul, at distances of from five to ten miles, strong well-built fortresses of laterite stone occupy the more prominent headlands. This country formed the scene of repeated struggles between the Nelaishwer Rajas, who formerly governed it, and their successive invaders. These were the Ikeri Rajas, Hyder, and Tippoo. The Nelaishwer Rajas were reduced to the rank of petty princes, but whenever the fortunes of their conquerors declined, they constantly endeavoured to recover their power, and rose in rebellion against their ruler. But the country was subject to a greater depopulation and misery than arises from a mere political struggle. With each alternation of fortune, one of the hostile races which divide the country, either the Nayrs or the Moplahs, gained the ascendancy, and each in turn persecuted the other. The Moplahs are the least numerous, but they are the most vindictive, and when the Mahomedan conquest gave them the upper hand, the Nayrs were driven to the jungles of the interior, or forcibly circumcised.

For some time after we took the country, the cultivators

\* Malayala, Tulava, and Haiga.

were still obliged to find nightly shelter under the walls of the forts, and it is not surprising that Buchanan's notes speak of deserted fields and scanty population.

These signs met him at every step. He speaks of the dominions of the Nelaishwer Raja as "exceedingly depopulated by war and by famine;" "the inner parts of the country are much over-grown with woods, and are very thinly inhabited." Of the upper land, even round the Fort of Hossdroog, he writes: "It is now waste, but when there were plenty of people, it was cultivated with ragy, horse gram, sesamum, and different pulses." "Still," he remarks further on, "more grain is raised in the country than the small number of inhabitants can consume. The people are accused by the Tahsildar of excessive indolence and of drunkenness, vices which he attributes to the constant troubles which prevailed during the government of the Sultan." "Very few of the landlords remain, and even the mortgagees are ready to give up all the land which they cannot cultivate, with their own stock, to any one who will pay the land-tax."

The country thus described by Buchanan in 1801, is, after the lapse of fifty-two years, one of the most flourishing portions of a prosperous province, and there is, perhaps, no portion which exhibits more distinctly the effects of a settled Government.

The Nelaishwer Rajas are now pensioners, and extensive landholders, living on their estates, and possessing a great deal of hereditary influence over the Nays of the district, but without political authority. The tract above described, comprises an area of 440 square miles, extending from the sea-coast to the watershed of the Ghâts. It contains a population of 48,719 souls, or 110 to the square mile, that is, it is more populous than Scotland. Considering how great a portion of its surface is occupied by rugged-mountains, broad rivers and estuaries, and a wide sea margin of barren sand, this is a great density of the population. The higher lands described by Buchanan again bear their crops of pulses and ragy, and even the wooded lands of the interior are eagerly contended for, and put under periodical crops. In fact, so far from mortgagees abandoning their claims, so great is the demand for land, that the period of fallow, if it may be so called, for Coomery cultivation\* has been reduced from twelve, to nine and eight years.

\* A species of cultivation carried on by felling and burning the jungle on the slopes of the mountains.

This advance has not been unattended by some concomitant evils. The landlords are become very wealthy, but the previous history of the country has left its traces apparent in its present condition. The rich are very rich; the poor are very poor. The land has fallen chiefly into the hands of the influential families among the Nayrs, a very few wealthy Moplahs, and the Pagodas. There is a struggle on the part of the poorer Moplahs to obtain holdings direct from the Government, and to rid themselves of the claims of the pretended lords of the soil. But as far as wide-spread plantations, extended clearances, increased trade, improved houses, and the enhanced value of land indicate prosperity, the signs of it are seen on every side.

From Malayala the traveller passed into Tulava, the central division of Canara, in which the capital Mangalore is placed. We accompany him only to find similar traces of depopulation and suffering. Even the fertile valley of the Naitravati, on which the capital stands, was but partially cultivated. The most industrious cultivators, the Christians, had been driven into exile, and the pepper gardens wantonly destroyed by Tippoo, to injure the commerce of the English; the ravages of the Raja of Coorg, upon this territory of his enemy, the Sultan, had not been less severe than those of the Sultan himself, so that the unfortunate inhabitants had suffered equally from their own rulers, and from foreign invasion. Scanty population, deserted villages, neglected roads, and the ravages of wild beasts, are the principal themes of Dr. Buchanan's notes.

Should a traveller in the present day follow the same route, he will traverse the valley of the Naitravati by an excellent and well-bridged carriage road, and will see on every side the most careful cultivation. Arriving at the town of Buntwal, the head of the navigation and the inland depôt of the trade of Mangalore, he will find three roads converging in this busy town, each crowded with the produce of Canara and Mysore. Coffee, tobacco, and rice, are the staple articles of trade.

If we follow the traveller to the northern division, we have the following notice of the town of Coompta:—"About two coss from Huldeypure, I came," he writes, "to a town named 'Cumty. It seems to have been formerly a place of some note. Its lanes are straight, and fenced with stone walls, and it has many cocoanut gardens. Twice it had the misfortune of having Tippoo's army encamped in its vicinity, and on both occasions it was burned down by some of the 'irregulars.' The trade of the port is not even alluded to.

This town is now the commercial capital of North Canara, at which three Ghâts from the upper country converge. The value of the exports of last season was 51,54,228 rupees, and the commerce gave employment to 1,00,830 tons of shipping.

It would be uninteresting to general readers unacquainted with the country, to continue local descriptions such as these; suffice it to say that, through the whole of the tour, Dr. Buchanan's notes tell the same tale. We have allusions to pirates still infesting the coast, and cutting out boats from the rivers, and we have such tables of exports and imports as prove that commerce had almost deserted the land. In contrast with this picture, we have, at the end of half a century, the following leading facts. The population, which amounted to 5,92,000, when the country came under our Government, has increased to 9,99,011, that is to say, it has all but doubled. The land, which Buchanan described as abandoned even by mortgagees, is saleable, wherever a distinct title can be established, at sixteen years' purchase, and often even higher. The country, whose agriculture and inland commerce in 1800 enabled it to feed a population of 592,000, and to export a surplus of 4,00,256 maunds of rice, now feeds an additional population of 400,000 souls, and exports 13,15,564 maunds. The general exports of the province, which in 1800 were valued at little more than 8,80,000 rupees, have risen in 1852-3 to more than 73,00,000 rupees. In a country which was found destitute of roads, there are now 600 miles of good cart roads. Where no wheeled-carriage, except Tippoo's and General Mathew's guns, were ever seen, there are now six passes through the mountains, adapted to carts, and a seventh under construction; and carts from the upper country are counted by hundreds.

The extension of agriculture must be deduced from the above facts, from the rising value of land, the increased exports with increased population, and from the fact that these are accompanied by lower prices. There are no accurate accounts of the cultivated area.

Scarcely less satisfactory than these general statements, is the fact that improvement is advancing with accelerated pace, a remark which applies to the resources of the district, but still more to its inland commerce. The human race is of slow growth, and so, according to Lord Chatham, is confidence. It required the lapse of many years for a new generation to reach maturity, and for industry to recover heart. Up to 1830 we find a fluctuating and even a declining revenue. But from

that time we have a steady increase. The land revenue, which at the end of thirty years scarcely exceeded the collections of the first years of our Government, and averaged about sixteen lakhs of rupees, has steadily advanced to eighteen lakhs. The salt revenue, which holds the place of the excise revenue of England as an indication of the state of the country, has nearly doubled in the same time. It has risen from about two and a half lakhs to nearly five lakhs of rupees; and the same may be said of the excise on spirits, while the rents of the ferries, (the turnpikes of the district and the index of its traffic) have risen from 3,000 to more than 10,000 rupees.

While the staple products of the district show a very large increase, two different trades have sprung up of late years, one in the north and one in the south of the province, and each is yearly increasing in importance. Neither cotton nor coffee finds even a place in Buchanan's tables. The value of the cotton now exported from Coompta, has risen to 42,72,744 rupees, and the coffee exported from Mangalore, is upwards of 1,000 tons, of the value of 2,22,000 rupees.

So recent and rapid has been the development of these trades, that the increase in coffee has been from 474 candies, the average from 1833 to 1837, to 4,117, the present export. The exports of cotton, which from 1833 to 1837 averaged 9,721 candies, have risen to 71,261.\*

From the contemplation of facts such as these, we are naturally led to a survey of the financial measures which have been concurrent with this development of the resources of the province, and to the enquiry whether facts, which appear to us eminently gratifying, have resulted from any distinct measures of the Government, or have been the growth merely of peace and indigenous industry. To follow out this enquiry, we shall sketch the financial history of the district in as few words as we can.

Each field or garden, or group of fields or gardens, belonging to the same proprietor, was under the ancient government entered in his account, called in the Native language "a wurg," and for the aggregate assessment of these lands the "wurgdar" was responsible. The plots might be in different parts of the village, or in separate villages, or even in separate Mouzas, but if entered in the name of one proprietor, they became an integral

\* In the above figures the revenue derived from the Coorg territory, added in 1834, is omitted. In reference to the salt revenue, it is necessary to mention that the price was raised between the two periods of comparison.

part of his holding. The name "wurg" insensibly passed from the account to the land, and has been translated by the word "estate," and if it is kept in mind that the lands constituting these estates are often widely scattered, the term is sufficiently correct. Thus the proprietary lands of the districts were found, on our accession, grouped into about fifty thousand estates of the most varied dimensions. The original claim of Government upon these estates was the Bednore assessment, said to have been originally one-sixth of the produce, ascertained by a survey (without measurement) of the land. This assessment, called the "shist," was recorded in the village accounts against each estate. To this were added, under every conceivable name, the exactions of the late Government. These went by the name of "shamil," or additions.

Munro's first measure was to record all the demands he found upon these estates, and the shist and shamil of each estate formed the "beriz," or assessment to which the holder of the estate found himself liable under our Government.

Munro considered, that as Collector, he was bound to realize as large a portion of the revenues ceded to us by the Sultan, as he could do without severity, and that it was the function of Government alone to surrender the rights it had won: the refractory spirit displayed by the landholders, also showed him that indulgence would be viewed as weakness. It was for him, he said, to make the duty easy to his successors. "Where there has been nothing but anarchy for the 'last seven years,' he wrote, "order can only be established 'by being inflexible—indulgence can be thought of afterwards."

He therefore made his collection as high as he thought the state of the country permitted, but told the Government distinctly that if the country was to flourish, they must abandon the greater portion of Tippoo's exactions. He drew up, at a later date, a standard of reductions for different portions of the district.

Unfortunately, no decided measures were taken, and for twenty years the subject continued under discussion, while the settlement was made on the principle of taking as much of the beriz as the circumstances of the proprietors admitted; and since the salt monopoly and the tobacco monopoly, as well as the stamp duties, were added to the taxation, the country did not show signs of prosperity. On the contrary, a spirit of discontent appeared among the people, which, after fourteen years of experience, Read attributed to over-taxation.

That the district was really more highly taxed than the rest of the Presidency, may well be doubted; but there is, perhaps, no other district where there is a body of people, every one of whom has, in his family, documents or traditions, which prove an easier tenure of their patrimony to have once been their lot. The Government were convinced that some measures of relief were necessary, and those which they adopted were eminently beneficial. An enquiry was made into the capabilities of the estates, and taking the average of previous collections as the standard, where the estates had been regularly cultivated, and in other cases a discretionary maximum founded upon the estimated produce of the half cultivated estates, and assigning a period for the gradual collection of this, the estates of the district were relieved from a demand of 1,74,000 rupees, which hung over them, and the profits of increased industry are thus secured to their owners. At the same time the languishing commerce of the coast was revived by a reduction of the duty on rice, from ten to three per cent., at a sacrifice of 1,40,000 rupees.

From this time the prosperity of the district may be dated; but its progress was comparatively slow, and in 1830 fresh troubles occurred; and a passive resistance of taxation was again organized, but one which in this case is not to be attributed to fiscal causes.

From about the year 1833, the tide of the improvement which we have described above, set in, and has been steady and rapid; and within that period the following measures have been carried out.

The demand upon a large number of estates, which failed to come up to the reduced standard, or to which the previous revision had not extended, was reduced to an amount adjusted to their capabilities. The effect of this has been most remarkable, and agriculture has made a great advance. The pressure thus withdrawn, was a sum never really added to the revenues of the state, while it disheartened the landholder, and discouraged improvement. From the date of its withdrawal, the increase of the Government revenue has been unchecked.

The next great measure of relief was the abolition of the transit duties. With a frontier of 300 miles, these pressed with perhaps greater severity upon this than upon other districts, and under this head was included an excise upon the staple products, betelnut, pepper, and cardamums. This measure relieved the province from taxation to the extent of 3,00,000 rupees, and has changed the entire state of the



garden cultivators, from one of indebtedness and poverty, to affluence and content.

The abolition of sea customs from port to port, and of all duty on cotton in transit to Bombay, has effected for the sea-borne trade what the last great measure had done for that of the interior, and nearly a similar sum of 3,00,000 has been remitted to the traders of the coast.

A still greater boon has since been conferred. A tobacco monopoly had been established in this province, and taxation could not possibly assume a worse form; and not only were its own inherent evils of the greatest magnitude, but so long as it existed, the abolition of the transit duties failed of half its advantages. Search on the frontier, domiciliary visits, and oppression of every kind, could still be practised under the pretext of zeal for the interest of Government. This has now been swept away, and the country is released of a taxation which may be reckoned at 2,00,000 rupees.

Concurrently with these measures, there has been steady advance in the recognition of the claims of a large province to the aid of Government, in the construction of public roads. Since 1837 above 5,00,000 rupees have been expended, we will not say on the improvement, but in the creation of public roads, chiefly from the coast, through the line of mountains, to the table land of Mysore, Bellary, and Darwar; and most amply has the expenditure been reimbursed. Every year, for the last seventeen years, has seen many miles of road opened to commerce, and it has seen them crowded, as soon as made, by thousands of bullocks and hundreds of carts. In a country where this first duty of the ruling power had been neglected, from a traditionary age to the present time, what could be done in fifteen years with small means, is but a fraction of what is due to the country; but it marks a most important era in its progress.

Within the same period slavery has been abolished, and a population of 1,18,630 souls have been emancipated from a complete though mild servitude, and made the proprietors of their own industry.

To sum up the results of these measures, and to show at a glance the progress of the last twenty years, we repeat the figures above given, with a few additions, in a tabular form.

*Population and Revenue of Canara, exclusive of Coorg Maganies.*

Years.	Population.	Land Rev.	Moturpha.	Abkarry.	Salt.	Stamps.	Ferry Farms.
1802...	5,92,635	...	...	9,761	(1806)	(1808)	(1804)
1832...	7,18,333	16,18,817	8,989	39,443	2,48,838	12,074	837
1852...	9,99,011	18,28,846	16,492	78,901	4,43,175	29,444	2,789
						55,519.	9,452
Imports of Copper.		Dates.		Piece Goods.		Total Imports.	
1812...	3,196		2,861		1,31,589		3,44,563
1837...	43,463		12,938		1,02,659		5,83,243
1852...	68,586		27,702		1,71,705		9,89,096
1853...	40,967		59,591		2,53,748		14,32,153
Exports of Cotton.		Coffee.		Rice.		Total Exports.	
Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.		
Candies Mds.		Candies Mds.		Moorahs.			
1812...	2,874-6	3,05,436	3-16	643	12,35,853	24,17,536	33,77,763
1837...	15,294-16	18,70,415	176-16	17,681	10,77,949	18,85,960	41,89,786
1852...	28,888-5	15,74,133	3,153-8	1,30,527	14,63,029	21,28,377	51,89,785
1853...	71,261-14	42,79,238	4,117-18	2,22,039	13,15,564	18,68,668	73,68,072

We do not think that any one can read the facts which we have now laid before him, without coming to the conclusion, that under the Government which has existed for about half a century, a province which had been reduced to a state of great misery, by a long period of oppression, and, which came into our possession in an exhausted state, has, in a most remarkable degree, revived from its fallen fortunes, and is advancing rapidly in the course of improvement; and that this effect has resulted,—*first*, from the repose which a strong paramount power has afforded, and *secondly*, from a course of liberal policy which has been followed out in late years: nor do we think that he will fail to conceive that the institutions of the country must be such as tend to the advancement of the people in social progress, if only peace, security of tenure, and moderation in taxation, allow of the free operation of industry and enterprise.

If then, we be asked, what is the leading principle in the institutions of the country upon which we should fix as chiefly affecting the condition of the people, we answer, without fear of contradiction, a Ryotwari tenure, the “magic of property;” of individual private property. We have described a country in which there are no traces of village communities holding the land in common, of Zemindari tenures, of mowza-wa assessment, or of village leases, but one in which the settlement has invariably been made with the proprietor of each holding, small or great, and property has been allowed to run into masses, or to divide into fragments, according to the natural course of human affairs, and the existing laws of inheritance. Owing to that marked feature in its climate, to which we before alluded, which has made every separate holding independent of its neighbour, and the absence of that grasp upon the land which Government possesses, wherever its cultivation is dependent upon large works of irrigation, through all the changes of Government, and all the periods of anarchy, the Ryotwari tenure has remained uninflected.

It is not therefore without an object that we have, at the present moment, attempted to bring the above facts before our readers. In September last we published an article on the Madras Land Revenue, in which we endeavoured to show that Ryotwari tenure and over-assessment had often been blended together, so that the evils of one have been attributed to the other. This position has been disputed by many, and it has been said that there is in Ryotwari tenure something inherently repressive; and as it is a point which we deem of great importance, we have thought that it would be useful to ascertain what are the effects of Ryotwari tenure, under a light assess-

ment when the two have been found in conjunction. This is a fair line of argument. In the province which we have described, Ryotwari tenure has existed from the remotest recorded period, and as long as the assessment was light, the province is proved, by concurring evidence, to have been most flourishing. Exaction pressed it to the earth, but no sooner was the pressure diminished, than it recovered, in proportion to the diminution, with an elasticity which has not, we think, appeared to be inherent in other institutions in the same degree.

If the arguments which we have drawn from the facts and figured statements given above, are correct, namely, that the district which we have described has advanced in a remarkable manner in all those circumstances which are usually taken as indications of national prosperity, it must, we think, be admitted that there is not, in Ryotwari tenure, any thing essentially repressive, but the contrary.

It may be said, perhaps, that we have described a system very different from what is usually understood by a Madras Ryotwari tenure. We have shown that the land is grouped into estates, and it would appear that all improvements effected upon these holdings are unaccompanied by any increased demand; and to this may be added the fact that, in the course of generations, and under frequent changes of Government, many encroachments have been made on the surrounding waste, till the assessment on many of the holdings has virtually been greatly reduced.\* But what is this but to show that there is no necessary connexion between Ryotwari tenure and either over-assessment, or the taxation of improvements; and if, freed from this weight, Ryotwari tenure has proved to be admirably adapted to developing the resources of a country, by stimulating the industry of the people, is it not a fair inference that by designedly and deliberately following elsewhere the course which has been the growth of circumstances in this instance, the results will be the same?

It is to offer this view of the subject that we have thus brought forward the above very slight sketch of a province in which there are now fifty-five thousand proprietors of lands,

\* From this and other causes, the assessment has become extremely unequal. In many parts of the district it is still far too high, while in others the Government does not receive its fair dues. The absence of any survey, and the ill-defined limits of the estates, give opportunities for further annual encroachments on the waste lands; and it is doubtful whether any measure, short of a general survey, will solve the many difficulties by which the revenue management of the province is perplexed. But this question, and others still under discussion, we have not touched upon, as they do not seem to us to affect the general argument.

paying the land tax direct to the Government, often in minute sums; and yet in which the revenue is collected with ease, as it always will be where the land has saleable value. There are, at present, in Canara, fifty-five thousand holdings, of which nineteen thousand pay less than ten rupees a year, and yet sales for arrears of revenue are almost unknown, and the reference to the European officer is as frequently on the question, who shall be *allowed* to pay, as who shall be *made* to pay, the dues of Government. The rent-roll of the whole district we append in a note.\*

The tenure then is certainly essentially Ryotwari; but with those measures which have reduced taxation, and raised the value of land till it is saleable throughout the district, except in the jungly and unhealthy, or thinly peopled portions, have disappeared those evils which have been represented as inherent in the system. In the coast talooks, annual scrutiny is unknown, and the landholder, thoroughly aware of the amount of his assessment, may pay it and stand independent of the Revenue officer. The yearly settlement of the Cusbah talook, paying a revenue of more than two lakhs of rupees, occupies two afternoons; because the cultivable land is all appropriated

\* *Abstract of the Rent-roll of the Canara district.*

	No. of Ryots.	Amount of Assessment.	
		Rs.	A. P.
Ryots paying 1,000 rupees and upwards.....	29	41,261	15 3
750 to 1,000 rupees.....	25	21,286	1 3
500 to 750 rupees .....	84	49,335	4 3
250 to 500 rupees.....	437	1,45,075	14 10
200 to 250 rupees... ..	384	73,532	3 0
150 to 200 rupees.....	728	1,25,385	11 4
100 to 150 rupees.....	1,887	2,25,663	1 3
75 to 100 rupees.....	2,234	1,93,006	13 6
50 to 75 rupees.....	4,910	2,97,839	12 5
40 to 50 rupees.....	3,541	1,57,786	11 6
30 to 40 rupees.....	4,888	1,69,101	3 7
20 to 30 rupees.....	6,935	1,70,802	3 8
10 to 20 rupees... ..	10,228	1,49,080	9 9
Under 10 rupees.....	19,182	1,79,045	6 4
Total.....	55,442	19,98,002	15 11

The collections of the Land Revenue are made with striking punctuality, and the balances irrecoverable are of the most trifling amount. Those struck off in the last five years on account of losses by floods, or fire, or other causes, contrasted with the settlement of the year, afford convincing proof of this.

Year.	Assessment.	Struck off.
1258.....	18,85,476.....	714
1259.....	18,96,603.....	986
1260.....	19,04,731.....	199
1261.....	19,14,101.....	53
1262.....	.....	174

and all saleable: and the time occupied in the settlement of other talooks is exactly in an inverse ratio to the saleable value of the land, increasing inwards from the coast to those tracts where cultivation is still struggling with the jungle.

The landed property of the district is grouping itself into holdings of every size, and while on the one hand the commercial, and what may be called the intellectual, classes, the servants of Government, the court pleaders, &c., invest their property in land whenever they are able to obtain it, and thus a new landlord class intermediate between the actual cultivators and the Government is spontaneously growing up,—on the other a numerous class of able-bodied men are ready to give their labour for daily hire, and, when the harvest of the coast is completed, proceed above the Ghâts to gather in the later crops of that elevation, or to labour in the Betel or pepper gardens. For the public works there is never any difficulty in collecting two or three hundred efficient workmen. Here, therefore, the supposed equalizing and impoverishing effects of Ryotwari tenure do not appear; but, with a growth proportioned to the net profit left to the owner, a new proprietary body is extending, and the complaint in the province is, that such is the case, that estates split to pieces by the Hindu law of inheritance, and the family divisions which it entails, are passing from the hereditary resident proprietors to the moneyed classes of the towns. This transfer from one class to another\* is not due to any effect of Ryotwari tenure, but arises from the same process of “morcellement” as is in progress in France, and in other parts of Europe, under the law which compels the division of inherited property among all the children; and it is aided in Canara by that most pernicious law “by which property descends to the sister’s children, an endless source of family disunion, fraud, and waste.†

\* Of the native servants now in the employment of Government (exclusive of the heads of villages and other village officers) 386 are the owners of 2,082 estates of various sizes, the aggregate assessment on which is Rs. 43,598-12-3.

† Since the above was written, we have met with the following passage in *The life and Letters of Niebuhr*, which strikingly illustrates what we have here stated.

“In Westphalia, and other parts, we have in the entailed free-holds an hereditary yeomanry, in whom, wherever they exist, we possess a highly respectable peasant aristocracy, wealthy enough to give their sons a good education, with the consciousness of an honorable descent, and a youth not depressed by poverty; and thus to add respectable members to the middle class, especially to the clergy of both confessions. But, wherever the Code Napoleon has been introduced, its adherents, who have gained the public ear by assuming to be the representatives of public opinion, insist upon the divisibility of landed property. They had already surreptitiously obtained a confirmation of the French and Westphalian ordinances; and though this is suspended, heaven knows how the matter will be decided at last! Yet, people have before their eyes, the example of other German countries, where

We are not arguing that where village communities exist in their integrity, and are in accordance with the feelings of the people, it would be advisable or just to break them down; or that any one system would be applicable to the whole of India; but we do argue that any endeavour artificially to create an intermediate proprietary body between the cultivators of the soil and the Government, be it composed of village corporations, of Zemindars, or of farmers of the revenue, is unjust towards the present owners of the soil, and that such institutions must be injurious where they are not the spontaneous growth of the country, and supported by the affections of the people. Where none such are found, a Ryotwari settlement is, we believe, the only just and wise measure that can be adopted, and, when a Ryotwari settlement has once been made, to attempt any other would, we are persuaded, be a step backwards.

We cannot for a moment believe that any change will ever be made in Sir Thomas Munro's settlements, further than by developing them, by measures such as those which have been traced in the history of this province; but at the present moment, when those who profess to speak the sentiments of the people of India, have been led to record, in a deliberate petition to Parliament, sentiments adverse to the opinion of the greatest and wisest man that ever ruled over them, and to suggest measures destructive of that individual property which can best draw forth the industry of a nation and save the humble from oppression, we have thought that it might not be useless to offer other views as fair matter for candid discussion; and we are satisfied that those who have represented the people of the Madras Presidency as adverse to the system of Munro, may have uttered the sentiments of a few persons at the capital, but have not expressed the feelings of the body of the people.

this cursed divisibility has existed for ages, and the whole agricultural population are beggars. In the district of Montauban, now belonging to Nassau, no deputy can be chosen for the Diet, because it does not contain a single elector. The qualification for an elector consists in paying one florin (1s. 8d.) land-tax. This sounds incredible, but my informant lives close to the district, and has known that part of the country from his infancy. There, on the Rhine, the larger estates are entirely disappearing, and the smaller ones are constantly divided, and sub-divided; and what a class are the peasantry! An estate which is considered one of the largest, was lately sold for 85,000 francs. (£3,400) Manufacturers, advocates, &c., &c., buy plots of land, and farm them out, so that in the neighborhood of the towns the peasant proprietors are vanishing, as in Italy.—*Niebuhr's Life*, Vol. II, p. 304.

Here then we see evils precisely similar to those which have been attributed to the Ryotwari system—but they are not there ascribed to the machinery by which the land tax is collected, but to the law which is breaking every landed property into pieces—and is destroying equally the larger landlords, and the peasant proprietors of Europe, and the Zemindari estates and the Ryotwari holdings of India.

We are sure that, if the real desires of the great body of the landholders of Madras, small and great, had been truly represented, it would have been comprised in these few words, "a light assessment, and tenure direct from the Government."

In the late discussions much has been written on the relative merits of the revenue systems of the several Presidencies, but we cannot but think that far too much stress has been laid on the system of collection, while a far more important question has been left in the back ground. That important question is, not what system of collection is best, but what amount of taxation can a country bear; and it is idle to compare two systems, if one is applied to an oppressive, the other to an easy taxation. It was with the object of bringing this view of the question prominently forward, that we endeavoured, in a former article, to institute a comparison between a Ryotwari district of Madras and one of the districts of the N. W. Provinces, and to show how much heavier is the pressure of taxation generally in Madras; and it is with the same view that we have endeavoured to follow the results of the gradual alleviation of the burdens on the land, the Ryotwari system being maintained in its integrity, in the province we have now described.

If, in one part of India we are expending millions to construct magnificent canals, and dispense the water at one or two Rupees per acre, and in another part we continue to demand 75 per cent of the produce, amounting to thirty rupees an acre and upwards, what fair comparison can be made between the village tenures of the one and the Ryotwari tenures of the other. It matters little what may be the course pursued for reducing the taxation of the Madras districts; whether it be done by a direct sacrifice of revenue (as in Cawnpore) or by taking an average of previous collections, and making this a maximum of demand, or by adding so much waste land to present holdings as shall reduce the assessment to a moderate demand on the whole (as has virtually been done in Canara,) or whether all these be combined; whatever may be the course pursued, the reductions which Sir T. Munro showed to be indispensable, must be carried out before his system can be condemned. But if, when Ryotwari assessment has been made as light as that of the N. W., or as that of the Zemindari estates of Bengal, it fails to produce results as beneficial,—then, and then only, will it have been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

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ART. III.—1. *Political Incidents of the First Burmese War. By Thos. Campbell Robertson.*

2. *Commons' Committee : Minutes of Evidence.*

3. *The Six Travels of John Baptista Tavernier. (Translation.)*

BEFORE Assam fell under the rule of the British Government, the country had, for a long period, been harassed by the repeated invasions of savage tribes. The people, scattered abroad, and driven from their homes by the crushing oppression of their barbarous conquerors, and the classes who cultivated the lands, had been impoverished by exactions, and brought to the lowest state of degradation by the tyrannical exercise of power, which deprived them of the hard-earned fruits of their labours. Under their own Rajas, little or no protection was extended to the lower classes against the oppressions of the rich and powerful ; those below a certain rank were not allowed to build a house, except with gable ends ; and to construct one with two round ends, was considered high treason ! It was also against orders for any but a noble, to wear a cloth reaching lower than the knee, whilst those of the Doom tribe were marked with a fish on the forehead, to prevent their being mistaken for more respectable people. In consequence of these laws, and the absence of impartial justice, a large portion of the people had been reduced to slavery by the upper classes, and the widest differences obtained in the social scale, as the Rajas, who respected no rights in their poorer subjects, were in the constant habit of willing away both men and lands, as a support for such Brahmins and noble families as could afford to make the necessary presents.

The people, from the depressing effects of such continued oppressions, had been reduced to a condition of abject wretchedness, which destroyed in them any feelings of independence and courage they may have ever possessed : those of the nobility, who retained any energy of character, were mostly noted for their barbarity and cruelty, but the greater part of them had relapsed into a state of imbecility, caused by the indulgence in profligate habits, and were in fact dependent on their slaves for subsistence. This miserable condition, so prejudicial to both rich and poor, left the country an easy prey to the more hardy tribes on the frontiers, and such of the people as possessed the necessary daring to engage in lawless habits of plunder and the violent pursuit of wealth ; and it is therefore not to be wondered at, that the valley of Assam

should have offered such a tempting field for the successive inroads of the Ahoms, Chutteahs, Moahinoorahs, Muttucks, Burmese, Booteahs, Dufflas, and Khossiahs, all of whom, within the last century or two, have plundered and devastated the country, and reduced the population from what it formerly was, when the country was entirely cultivated—which there is little doubt it was at one time—and left it to be occupied by the British Government, when all order had been destroyed, society in a state of wreck, the people deprived of their wealth by plunder, agriculture at the lowest ebb, and not one-tenth of the province under cultivation.

In 1826 Assam was obtained from the Burmese by the treaty of Yandaboo, and measures were immediately taken to introduce order and peace throughout the country. The hill tribes were restrained from making inroads into the plains, and the dacoits and depredators of all kinds were apprehended, and security afforded to all classes. Under the change of rulers, the aspect of affairs soon began to improve, and hundreds of families, who had fled the country during the Burmese occupation, and had been residing in different parts of Bengal, now commenced returning to their homes:—the officers of the former Assamese Government, who could not be provided with the means of support by employment in the public service, were granted liberal pensions, and those who had held fiscal charge of the divisions of the districts, were retained in their situations, and as far as possible, every care was taken not to deprive these men of the positions they had occupied in the former construction of society by too radical a change in the institutions of the country. As the proprietary right in the land in Assam had always been considered as vested in the Government for the time being, the former system of management, but considerably improved and simplified, was continued, and the revenue collected through officers, of whom one is appointed to the charge of each estate, and who in some districts are called Moujadars, in others Choudris and Patgiris, and who may therefore be considered to have a prescriptive right to these appointments. It was, however, found that the estates, called Purgunnas or Moujas, required to be defined by laying down new boundaries, as they had become interlaced with each other, which would have occasioned many disputes, and led to much contention. A new arrangement, therefore, took place of all the Purgunnas, &c., each of which was formed into an estate of a convenient size, and the ryots maintained in all their just pretensions; and as no claims to the lands, or rents of any intermediate parties, (except the Lakhirajdars) had to be dealt

of the Government to undertake the office of direct interference in the individual welfare of each separate ryot, and whether it is not preferable to make the ryot rely entirely on his own exertions, rather than to be dependent in any way on the assistance of Government, which can only be but very ineffectually afforded, and which, if withdrawn, must leave the ryots less capable of managing their own concerns. The system of pure ryotwari, therefore, which contemplates so much interference of the state with the most ordinary labours of individuals, cannot be said to contain within itself any principle of self-progress, and is not such as will eventually be found the best adapted to secure to the mass of the people a state of permanent prosperity.

But if the ryotwari settlement, with khass collections, is at best but a doubtful good to the lower classes, it never could be advisable to put in practice where its introduction would occasion the dismissal from their offices of nearly all the respectable people in a province, and thereby create an amount of suffering and destitution, as distressing to behold as it would be inexpedient to produce. If it be admitted, that neither zemindari nor pure ryotwari would be suited to the condition of Assam, it might be asked, why could not the Mouzawari plan of management be adopted, as it exists in the Upper Provinces. It is usually admitted, that this plan has succeeded better than any other yet tried in India; and many, from its apparent success, have supposed it to be the best mode of dealing with the people which could be devised. This, however, is still but a matter of opinion; and it requires a longer trial than has yet been given it, to prove whether it will eventually stand the test of time. It will of course be acknowledged by its greatest admirers, that to make it possible, this kind of settlement requires that a peculiar construction should exist in the component parts of each community, and that it is only applicable to villages, in which the communities are perfect, or nearly so. It is not a mode of settlement, therefore, which can be made at will; and it may admit of a reasonable doubt, whether the perfect communities, now in existence, are likely long to continue so, and whether it does not require the assistance of some legal enactments to maintain them in their present condition, so as to ensure the continued working of the system; for as each member has a separate holding, to which a right of some kind must attach, it is not easy to perceive how it would be possible to prevent a member parting with the right to his share in any way he chose, or how the courts could

be restrained from selling in execution of a decree passed against him, a man's right to a share, whether that right were proprietary, or merely the right of possession. It would in fact be necessary to declare, that no rights of any kind should be transferable, which would, by rendering the land unsaleable, make it no longer of any marketable value. It seems to be allowed, that the intrusion of strangers into these model villages must be strictly guarded against. Neither, for the same reasons, would it be proper to allow any one of the members to forsake the calling to which he had been born. This, of course, was possible under Hindu laws, by which every man is condemned by caste to be just what his father was before him; it does, in fact, represent the leading idea of Hindu society, where a man who is born a barber is obliged to shave the whole village, and each individual has an allotted share of duty to perform, out of the trammel of which he cannot swerve. But under such a code as this, it would scarcely be contended that room was left for individual freedom of action, or that the advancement of civilization would not soon destroy so forced a system. The idea of these village communities is therefore only adapted to barbarous times, and requires the perpetuation of Hindu customs to enable it to stand its ground, but which the progress of events must be constantly tending to overthrow, and which it decidedly is not the call of the British Government to maintain. It, therefore, certainly does appear improbable, that the village communities, now in a state of perfect organization, are at all likely to remain very long in their primitive condition; the spirit of the age is against their continuance; and communism, although it has been tried in Europe, has only met with very limited success, and does not appear to make much progress. As remarked by Mr. Campbell in his work on Modern India, it is wonderful that these corporations work so well as they do, and while he accepts the fact that they do work well, he goes on almost immediately after to mention, that in the provinces the communities have been, and still are being ruined. This, of itself, would be enough to show that the system is not compatible with the laws as administered under the British Government; and as separate interests arise, and the bond of union becomes loosened by a diversity of causes, it is natural to suppose that contentions and variances will occur, which will split up the communities into opposite factions, and cause the members to separate at last into independent proprietors; no permanent good can therefore be expected to result

from this arrangement, as it seems to possess within itself the seeds of its own destruction, which will sooner or later cause it to break down, and prove, from its own inherent rottenness, that it was only fitted for an age which is fast passing away.

But apart from any objections which may exist to the system of joint responsibility, it would of course be out of the question to attempt the introduction of Mouzawari settlements, where, as in Assam, these communities, at all events, at the present time, have no existence whatever; and as Assam was not originally peopled by Hindus, the probability is that, this being a Hindu institution, it never was in force in the province. The Mouzawari of the North West Provinces is therefore impracticable in Assam, and there remains to be considered but one other mode of settlement, except that which is actually in force in the province at the present time, called the farming or Ijarah system, and to which the present management bears some resemblance, and with which it is now proposed to contrast it, with the view of showing, that for this country at least, it possesses many advantages.

As said before, the principal object which has constantly been held in view in the fiscal arrangements in Assam, has been to afford full protection to the ryots, and at the same time to disturb as little as possible the existing relations of classes. For this purpose, the revenue system is so adapted, that if the Collector does his duty properly, and makes himself tolerably well acquainted with the people in his district, by visiting every part himself, it is quite impossible that the ryots can suffer much oppression, as he has the power of dismissing any of the *Motussil* officers, who may be guilty of any abuse of authority. The system may be characterized as a combination of the *rytowari* and *Ijarah* methods of settlement, uniting the advantages of both, without retaining the defects of either. It is *ryotwari* as respects the ryot, who holds the title to his lands direct from the Collector, and whose lands are assessed at a certain fixed rate, sufficiently light, so as always to leave to the cultivator a fair remuneration for his labour. To each *Pargunna* or *Mouza* a manager or superintendent is appointed, who carries out all the details of the internal management of the estate under the Collector's orders; but besides performing all the duties of a subordinate agent, the officer in charge of the estate also contracts to collect and pay in the revenue, reduced, when making the settlement, to a fixed sum, for the trouble and risk of doing which he receives a commission, besides having the privilege of letting out any of the jungle

lands to new settlers to compensate for any losses he may sustain by deaths or desertions. In making settlements with these officers, the first thing to be ascertained is the amount of land under cultivation, which is done by measurements made field by field. This completed, the ryots all receive pottahs, and the assessment on the total of them being computed, the amount of commission is deducted from the gross revenue, and a settlement is made either for a short or long period, according as the nature of the cultivation in the estate is of a permanent or shifting character. Under this arrangement the Government always knows exactly what will be realized, and the details of management do not practically occasion much inconvenience to the Collector in charge of the district; for as the superintendents know that they are subject at any time to dismissal for misconduct or oppression of the ryots, this operates as such an effectual check, that the people enjoy the greatest freedom from tyranny, and have, in fact, very seldom any thing to complain of.

The superintendents of estates, although employed in adjusting the differences of the ryots amongst themselves, do not interfere in any way likely to make the ryot less reliant on himself, whilst they themselves are never dismissed except for gross misbehaviour, and seldom lose their appointments for falling into arrears, as they all are obliged to furnish security, which generally prevents its being necessary to deprive them of their situations on that account. It is a rule laid down, that all the managers shall live on the estates they hold charge of, and as the appointments are held as long as the incumbent conducts himself with propriety, these situations have, in many instances, been retained in the same family from generation to generation. There are matters of detail, of a very secondary nature, that may perhaps require a little alteration, and this, as well as other systems, may, no doubt, have its weak points; but taken on the whole, it is nicely balanced, and its success beyond dispute; for to its beneficial working must be attributed the good order and comfort which prevail amongst the people of the province.

If it is allowed that this is a true description of the actual state of affairs, all that is now required is that judicious improvements should be made with the view of perfecting the present arrangements. It has been attempted to show, that neither the system of Bengal, Madras, nor of the North West Provinces would be preferable, and it is quite as easy to prove that farming, according to the regulations, would be of no

benefit either to the ryots, or the families now holding fiscal charges.

As regards the former, they would no longer receive that substantial protection against oppression which is now afforded them, as a farmer is only removeable for neglecting to pay his revenue. Knowing this, every means, legal and illegal, would be resorted to for compelling the ryots to pay whatever was demanded; fierce up-country burkundazes would be entertained to terrify the people, and instead of being instruments in the hands of the Collector to improve the estates, the farmers would, to save themselves from dismissal, think of little else than how to devise schemes for squeezing the ryots, and soon revert to their old oppressive habits, which it has taken years of care and attention to break them off, but which at last has happily been attained. Under the farming regulations, the Collector would no longer be regarded as the protector of the ryots, as he would not have the power to interfere in their behalf, and all that a poor man could do when wronged, would be to bring a case against the farmer in the Criminal or Summary Suit Court, in which the chance of carrying his case successfully through, against so powerful an antagonist, is so much against the weaker party, that it is better perhaps for the ryot not to attempt it; for even if successful, he renders his opponent an enemy for life. To hand the ryot over to the tender mercy of a farmer of revenue, would therefore evidently be, to place him in a worse position than that which he now occupies, which of itself is a sufficient reason against its adoption. But it has yet to be seen in what way the managers of estates would be benefited by making them farmers. They would, it might be urged, be freed from the fear of being dismissed for misconduct, but against this they would have to set off the disadvantage of being subject to losses caused by inundations, and the cutting away of land by rivers, for which remissions are now granted. The good men amongst them would therefore be decided losers by the change, and as for the bad ones, no one, it is supposed, would care much what became of them. Another evil attendant on farming is the option allowed of sub-letting, which enables the farmer himself to live away from the estate; and as the Collector has no control over the selection of under-farmers, it would not be possible for him any longer to make arrangements for the affairs of the estates being conducted by the persons best fitted to advance their prosperity, and some difficulties would also be thrown in the way of giving Government grants of jungle wastes, as the farmers would

of course object to any interference of the Collector with the lands contained in their estates.\*

It is supposed by many, that by giving a man a more permanent hold of an estate, he would feel a greater interest in it, and do more to promote its improvement than if he were subject to removal, or only obtained charge of one on a short lease. The truth of this proposition, however, when applied to the natives of this country, does not seem to be borne out by experience, and never will operate in that way, until it is possible to instil into their minds the same views which would influence an English gentleman in like circumstances. The zemindars of Bengal, taken as a body, do nothing whatever to improve their estates, and it is only very lately that the few really enlightened amongst them have made any exertions at all in that way. The inducement to a mere farmer would, under the most favourable circumstances, be hardly sufficient to ensure the expenditure of much skill and money in making improvements. To warrant the laying-out of capital, a man must feel the property on which it is spent to be his own, so that with this object in view, the granting of a Zemindari tenure would be more likely to succeed than merely letting out the estates in farm. It will, however, be quite time for the Government to think of parting with its Zemindari rights, when the people of the country are fitted by education to occupy such a position, and are sufficiently civilized to enable them to fulfil properly the duties which devolve on the proprietors of landed estates.

Under the plan of management in force in Assam, a great

\* It is scarcely necessary to explain with reference to the subject of farming, that although the word would, according to the English sense, be understood to mean that an estate was let out at a certain rent to a person who actually cultivates the land at his own risk, such is by no means what the term implies when taken in the Indian sense. The farmer at home may be seen out of a morning superintending the ploughing of the fields, and attending to the draining of the land, ordering a fence to be repaired here, or a ditch to be cleaned there; it is his business to see that the farming operations are carried on in the best possible manner, for having to pay all the farm servants their wages, his chance of profit depends on their labour being turned to the best account. To make a farm pay, tends necessarily, as a matter of course, to improve it, and in reading of farming in India, no doubt, the people of England think the same sort of thing takes place in this country. This, however, is a great mistake, for instead of the Indian farmer paying any attention to the fields, the flocks and herds, he being merely a farmer of the revenue, may be seen sitting in his kacheri in state, ordering this or that ryot to be dragged before him to pay his rent, and directing his property to be sold by auction if his threats do not produce the desired effect. These farmers have, in fact, nothing to do with the lands whatever, as in every case the ryots hold possession of the soil under some tenure, subject only to the payment of a certain rent,—they are in plain English little more than tax-gatherers; and whereas the inducements in the one case all tend to the improvement of estates, the other, from there being no interest conferred in the land, has but too often had the opposite effect of causing them to deteriorate, and ended in the impoverishment and ruin of the ryots.



deal more is possible than has been done, as no obstacles stand in the way of carrying out improvements to any extent. The Choudri, Patgiri, or Mouzadar, whichever title he may hold, instead of being a bar, is of the greatest assistance in the hands of an able Collector, in forwarding operations for the good of the country: it is part of his duty to aid in promoting the welfare of the ryots resident in the Purgunna or Mouja under his charge; and as agent, he should be the right-hand man of the Collector in superintending all works designed to benefit the estates; he is especially required to visit and inspect the Government vernacular schools, and do his best to see that the scholars regularly attend, and that the pandits do not neglect their duty; roads, such as they are, are repaired under his directions; and the Collector, in visiting the district each year, points out and suggests many small works of utility, which, with proper management, can usually be executed without drawing upon the state for the expenditure of its finances. A Collector, to do his duty, must attend to all matters connected with improvements in the district; he should originate and suggest plans for adoption, and see that they are properly performed by those in charge of estates; the general idea must be given by him, leaving all the detail to be carried out by his subordinates. Under this system, the Government have to look to the exertions of a European gentleman to improve a district, instead of trusting to the natives of the country; and which, the relative intellectual state of the two being considered, is likely to succeed the best, it is not difficult to decide. The duties of a Collector are, therefore, of great importance to the welfare of the people, and as much must depend on the capacities of this officer, any one who considers he has done his duty if he manages to realize the revenue, is not a person fit to hold the appointment, and has no business to undertake the office of a Collector in Assam.

To ensure to Assam the blessings it now enjoys, and to promote its general advancement, it is essentially necessary, for some time at least, that the present organization of society should be maintained; it is suited to the condition of the country, and peculiarly well adapted to the state of a people just emerging out of the pale of barbarism. Under the present system the people can be taught; and although there is much in their social condition which requires to be improved, the blemishes in their character cannot be shown to be dependent on, or in any way to be caused by, the general administration of their affairs. What is required to induce greater prosperity

among the people, is the infusion of energy and enterprize into individual character; this must be a work of time, but it has already been effected to an extent but little discernible to any, except those who are intimately acquainted with their previous habits. At present the great drawback to their advancement is the excessive and almost universal indulgence in the use of opium, which exerts a most baneful effect on all classes, but especially on the common people, who are unable, like the rich, to counteract its ill effects by the use of a nutritious and generous diet: it consequently preys on the vitals of the poor, and exhausts both their strength and means of support. Opium is, in fact, the curse of Assam; and until the people are prohibited from cultivating it for their own consumption, it is hopeless to expect any amelioration of the national character; there are perhaps no people on the face of the earth to whom nature has given a more fertile soil, and a country better adapted for the cultivation of all the more profitable articles of trade; and it is only their excessive laziness, and extreme ignorance of agriculture, that hinders their taking the full advantage of the great capabilities of the land. They are poor, because they will not work; but when once they are broken of the habit of using opium to excess, and the drug becomes an article of luxury, instead of being in common use by every man, woman, and child, which at present is but too often the case amongst the lower orders,—then, and not till then, will a change for the better take place in the disposition of the Assamese, and sloth and idleness disappear as their peculiar characteristic.

There is another cause which has a very depressing effect on the people, and which has always been attended with the same results in all parts of the earth, namely, a great want of intercourse with the rest of the world. Assam is, in fact, almost isolated from all other countries, the valley being surrounded by impenetrable mountains, inhabited by tribes of indigent savages. Strangers are seldom met with in any part of the country, as the roads which exist, lead to no place of general resort, and are not a thoroughfare from one country to another; there is therefore a great stagnation of ideas among the people themselves, and the greatest dread is felt by most of them at the very thought of trusting themselves below Gowalparah. For travel they have no inclination; their experience of men and manners is, therefore, mostly confined to what they may observe in the narrow limits of their own native villages; the roads which formerly did exist have nearly all fallen into disuse, and are generally impassable from being

over-grown with jungle; this, however, is not a matter of much moment, as, with few exceptions, the lines of communication which had been constructed by the Assam Kings, at a great expense of men and labour, do not lead in directions now adapted to the requirements of the country. What is now wanted is, that two trunk roads, passable throughout the year for foot passengers and beasts of burden, should be completed as soon as possible: that on the south bank should communicate with the district of Mymensing in Bengal, and continue upwards through Gowalparah, Gowahatty, Nowgong, Golaghaut, Jorahaut, Sib-sagur, and so on to Dibróoghur, the capital of Upper Assam; whilst that on the north bank would effect a junction with the road from Rungpore, and passing through Runganattee, traverse the northern part of the Gowalparah district, and continue east through the centre of the thickly populated parts of Kamroop, and proceed on to Mungledge in Daring Tezpoore, a little north of Bishnath and Luckimpore, from whence it might cross the Brahmaputra, and join the road on the south bank. These two main lines, with the road already existing from Gowahatty across the Cherra Hills to Sylhet, would answer all the purposes of rendering the province accessible from without, and admit of intercourse being kept up by land with all the neighbouring districts, which at present are entirely cut off during a great part of the year, for want of passable roads, to all those who do not possess the means of travelling by water, or whom this tedious and dangerous way of moving may not suit. It is true that the Brahmaputra, as a natural highway, affords great facilities of communication, but during the rains the navigation is extremely hazardous, and scarcely passable for any boats, except the canoes of the country and powerful steamers. The banks of the river being subject to inundation, are mostly covered with dense jungle, which makes tracking a matter of great difficulty; it is therefore only in the dry season that the Brahmaputra is adapted for the passage of the ordinary country boats: and as at that time its course is very circuitous, and the channels near the shore greatly blocked up with sand-banks, it takes a moderate sized boat, on an average, six weeks to go from Dacca to Gowahatty, a distance which a man might easily walk in fifteen days, along a road kept in decent repair. Comparatively speaking, few of the people of Assam possess boats, as the population is principally confined to the interior, away from the banks of the Brahmaputra, where but little use could be made of them; roads are therefore quite as much required in Assam as in other countries; but the Government can hardly be expected to provide for the construction of more

than the main lines. The Mofussil roads, with branches from the trunk, might be very properly left to be made or paid for by the people of the country. For this purpose a fund should be raised by assessment, a certain portion of which might be expended in keeping up serais (called Namghors in Assam,) for travellers to rest in, digging wells at the halting places badly supplied with water, cleaning and repairing the tanks, planting trees along the roads, and keeping in order the village school-houses.

In point of productiveness, there is, perhaps, no part of India that surpasses Assam; the soil is rich and varied, and according to its elevation, land may be found adapted for nearly all the crops which are culturable in tropical climates. There are low lands and high lands, alluvial soils and clay soils, open plains and dense forests—all of which are suited for the growth of some particular product. In the hilly countries, which surround the valley, cotton is grown in considerable quantities, though of inferior quality; lac is also an article, which, in these hills, as well as in the plains, is produced extensively, and is of a very good kind; munjeet and red chillies are likewise brought down for sale by the hill people, but not in great quantities; these, however, with numerous other descriptions of produce, can all be cultivated with success in the hilly regions bordering on Assam, and the quantity produced at present could be increased to almost any extent, if the population were sufficient and their exertions properly directed.

In the plains, the crops mostly in favour with the natives, are rice of all kinds, mustard seed, opium, pulses, sugar-cane, silk and cotton, the last of which is mostly used up in the manufacture of home fabrics; it must, however, be allowed, that in the cultivation of these articles, very little knowledge of farming is brought into operation, and the least possible labour expended in rearing them. The people almost seem to think that Nature should supply all their wants, and that crops, which will not grow spontaneously, are scarcely fit to be cultivated; the extreme fertility of the soil, and the little labour required in agriculture, has, no doubt, tended very much to induce those habits of idleness, and want of active exertion, so observable in all the people of the province. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that labour should be difficult to obtain for hire, as a man has only to provide himself with a pair of bullocks and a few of the most simple agricultural instruments, select a piece of land to his liking, of which there is plenty to be had in all quarters, and with the expenditure of the

most limited amount of labour, he is nearly certain to provide himself with all the actual necessities of life.

The want of labour is certainly the greatest difficulty which European speculators have to contend with in establishing and carrying on any factories in Assam. During the cold weather, after the summer crop of rice has been gathered in, labourers are obtainable in large numbers, and may be prevailed upon to stay with their employers for some months: the annual rains, however, no sooner set in, than off they go to their rice fields, which no ordinary rate of wages will induce them to desert. The people are in general so well off at home, that three or four rupees a month is not looked upon as sufficient compensation for the loss they would sustain by entirely giving up their own cultivation. It is consequently impossible to calculate with certainty on being able to keep together any number of labourers during the whole year.

Of late years considerable attention has been attracted to the province by the decided success which has latterly attended the operations of the Assam Tea Company. It is now a well-ascertained fact, that the cultivation and manufacture of tea in Assam is a profitable speculation, and that its sale is no longer dependent on the novelty of the article; the extended production of this commodity may therefore be looked for as a certain result of this success, and as there is land enough to accommodate all settlers for many a year to come, the only thing which speculators and capitalists need be careful in providing for, is the supply of sufficient labourers necessary to carry on their factories. These, no doubt, are obtainable from many of the over-stocked districts of Bengal, from which the removal of a portion of their surplus population to Assam would be a mutual advantage. But besides tea there are many other articles of trade, the cultivation of which may be made to yield a profitable return, such as sugar, coffee, lac, many of the fibrous grasses, and other products, all of which could be grown to any extent. Experiments have been made of uniting in one concern the manufacture of both tea and sugar, which has been attended with marked success, as tea being manufactured in the rains, and sugar in the dry weather, the great press of work does not fall at once in both departments, which admits of all the labourers being kept in full work during the whole year round, by being employed alternately in one or the other according as circumstances may require.

Without the importation of labourers, or the immigration of people of their own accord into Assam, it must be a very long time indeed before the vast area of jungle wastes can be

reclaimed. The people of the country are not at all likely to extend their cultivation much beyond its present limits; and far from an increase being probable just at present, it is to be feared that an actual decrease will take place, on account of the great mortality among the people caused by cholera, and the destruction of immense numbers of cattle by a murrain during the last two years. Under the most favourable circumstances it would take a very long time before the natural increase amongst the inhabitants themselves would be sufficient to bring the whole of the province under cultivation; but if immigration could only once be established, it would probably go on rapidly increasing, as the agricultural classes of Bengal would find their position much improved by the change. In this way the wilds of Assam might soon be teeming with happy people; instead of presenting the appearance of desolate wastes, the people of the country would also be benefited by mixing with others, whose knowledge of agriculture is somewhat greater than their own, as example is always better than precepts; wild beasts and impenetrable forests would soon be replaced by thriving families and beautiful villages, trade would increase, and wealth accumulate, and the valley again regain its former amount of population amid the blessings of peace and prosperity.

Having thus discussed this question of the Land Revenue pretty fully, we shall now indulge in some miscellaneous observations, partly suggested by the publications whose titles stand at the head of this article, the first two of which have appeared since the publication of our article on Assam in No. XXXVIII., and partly supplied from our own experience in the province.

"We cannot foretell," says Mr. Robertson, formerly Commissioner of Assam, "what the future historian will say of the contest now in progress in the Irrawaddy, but it may be safely predicated of the last war with Ava, that it was not merely just and necessary in its origin, but absolutely and positively unavoidable."

As might be naturally expected, many of Mr. Robertson's observations bear with much interest upon present circumstances. The following, although not directly connected with Assam, is a well-told version of an oft-told tale:—

"The position of the Bengal sepoy, as he is called from the presidency to which he belongs, though Hindustani sepoy would be the more distinctive title to give him, as he is generally drawn from the provinces of the middle and upper Ganges,

‘ is one of the puzzles proving of difficult solution to those who  
 ‘ visit India for the first time at a mature age. The Bengal  
 ‘ sepoy is virtually a militia-man, one engaged for a service  
 ‘ limited to Hindu land. He can no more be, with justice,  
 ‘ required to serve beyond the limits of Hinduism, than an  
 ‘ English militia-man could, during the war in Europe, have  
 ‘ been required to serve out of the British isles. To embark  
 ‘ on board ship, unless enlisted with that understanding, can,  
 ‘ under no circumstances, be justly exacted of him. When  
 ‘ wanted beyond seas, the practice in former days was to  
 ‘ announce the service, and call for volunteers; and it was thus  
 ‘ that the native battalions were formed, which so well upheld  
 ‘ the character of the Bengal army in Egypt, at the Mauritius,  
 ‘ and at Java. Since then the practice has been introduced of  
 ‘ raising battalions for general service, in which the condition  
 ‘ of entering is, that the sepoy shall be prepared to embark if  
 ‘ required, and this is the case with the whole native army at  
 ‘ Madras. In respect to such regiments, therefore, there is no  
 ‘ difficulty; but with the rest of the Bengal army, and, I believe,  
 ‘ by far the best portion of it, there can be no doubt of the  
 ‘ sepoy’s right to refuse to go on board a ship, and some doubt  
 ‘ of our Government’s right to send him, even by land, beyond  
 ‘ the limits over which the Hindu faith prevails.

‘ The order for certain regiments at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, to move down to Chittagong and Arracan, had excited  
 ‘ a spirit of discontent among the men, such as a Malcolm or  
 ‘ an Ochterlony would, probably, have appeased, without force  
 ‘ or bloodshed, but which, under the handling of the chief  
 ‘ military authorities of the day, men imperfectly acquainted  
 ‘ with the character of the sepoy, and disdaining to humour  
 ‘ his peculiarities, led, on the 1st November, 1824, to one of  
 ‘ the most deplorable scenes recorded in the history of British  
 ‘ India.

‘ The sepoy is, in some respects, like a child in his tempera-  
 ‘ ment, and never was his childish frowardness more decidedly  
 ‘ evinced than on the occasion in question. The order resisted,  
 ‘ was one to march without the usual aid in the way of carriage,  
 ‘ which circumstances rendered it impossible for the Govern-  
 ‘ ment to supply. The sepoys were unreasonable and disobedi-  
 ‘ ent, but that they were not animated by any really malevo-  
 ‘ lent spirit, is evident from the place where their contumacy  
 ‘ was displayed.

‘ If, instead of breaking out at Barrackpore, where regi-  
 ‘ ments of Europeans were at hand to reduce them, they had  
 ‘ postponed the explosion, until after a few days march towards

Chittagong, they would have had their officers in their power, and might have done what they liked. This consideration had no weight with those who had to deal with them, and who, acting in strict and somewhat pedantic conformity with European precedent, fixed a certain number of minutes for laying down arms, and did every thing in that hard and dry manner, by which it is so easy, in moments of excitement, to push an Indian Prince to war, an Indian subject to revolt, and an Indian soldier to mutiny.

"It is impossible to say precisely, at this distance of time, what could have been done; but nothing worse can be imagined than what *was* done, in the opening of a fire from an almost masked battery, upon men whose muskets, there is good reason to believe, were unloaded, and then, *horrible dictu!* setting our own British-born soldier to the dreadful task of treating his ancient companion in arms, the Jack sepoy of the days of Lake, as his fellest foe.

"So intense was the interest taken in this event by the native soldiery, that we discovered to our surprise, intelligence of the mutiny and its suppression to have been received in the lines at Chittagong, before it reached General Morrison and myself, though it was transmitted to us by a special express. The effect produced on the sepoy mind, seemed to be one of horror and amazement. "They are your own men whom you have been destroying," said an old native officer, in talking of the matter, and seemed afraid to trust himself to say more. Among the English residents at Chittagong, then mostly military, the account of what had happened was received by some with concern, but by too many with undissembled satisfaction. There was one person however, and he an officer of His Majesty's army, fresh from Europe, who seemed intuitively to take the humane, the enlightened, and the just view of the question. This was the late Col. Grant, of the 54th foot. I sat next him at dinner, on the evening of the day on which the news from Barrackpore had been received, and I remember well the contrast exhibited between his calm clear-sighted reflections on what had happened, and the hasty passionate comments of many others at the table."

Nearly thirty years have passed over this scene, and we may be thankful that the earth has been spared witnessing another like. They might be not unfrequently precipitated. Only ten years back, some ticklish matters occurred at the disbanding of the Upper Assam Sebundy corps. While a more recent difficulty was occasioned, at the commencement of this second war against Burmah, concerning one of the most



distinguished regiments in India, bearing on its colours "Serinapatam," "Candahar," "Ghuzni," "Caubul." Honour be to the sentiments of the late Col. Grant! How has the word "loyalty" been perverted and abused to serve men's bad and selfish passions!

Elsewhere Mr. Robertson thus touches upon military matters: and upon a subject that has been a good deal discussed of late, and of which but one view seems to be taken by all who are qualified to form a judgment respecting it:—

"I shall make no apology for this trespass upon what is, perhaps, exclusively soldier's ground, because the bias of the present day, towards an undue depreciation of native capacity, and a disregard for purely native feeling, is quite as strong among our countrymen in civil, as among those in military situations of power and command. This bias necessarily engenders a contemptuous bearing towards a people of keen susceptibility, who are more easily to be led by their attachment to individuals, than by their reverence for any system, however wise and beneficial.

"This is peculiarly the case with the military classes of Upper India, of whom the Bengal army is, or ought to be, composed; and therefore those who wish the Bengal sepoy to be what his predecessors were under Lake and Ochterlony, should inquire how those commanders conducted themselves towards their native officers and men, and try to regulate their own deportment accordingly. The worst of the repulsive system is, that it produces the very faults which it imputes; for the men naturally become estranged from superiors, who evince no sympathy for them. Allusion has been made to the days of Lake and Ochterlony, but it is unnecessary to go so far back, to find proofs of what good service sepoys may, under judicious management, be brought to render.

"Almost simultaneously with the march on Arracan, Col. Alfred Richards was employed, with an army consisting of natives alone, in driving the Burmese out of Assam. The present Sir James Brooke, then a young Ensign, serving under Col. Richards, had been allowed to act on a suggestion of his own, for supplying the want of cavalry in Assam, by selecting 100 sepoys, who could ride, and mounting them on ponies taken from the enemy.

"When, at the attack of Runjore, in Upper Assam, this young officer fell, as it was supposed, mortally wounded, one of his own dismounted troopers, employed with others in carrying him from the field, perceiving that his sword had fallen, exclaimed, 'It shall never be said that my master left the field with-

‘out his sword,’ and ran back into the midst of the fire to look for it.

“This little troop had always been employed under its juvenile commander, in accompanying the Quarter Master General of the force in Assam, the late Capt. Neufville, and would, it may be safely asserted, have followed either of those two officers on any enterprise, however dangerous.

“If we ask the reason, it was not because the sepoys were much better than others, but simply, because their leaders were both of them men of enlarged minds, and engaging manners, who did not think it beneath them to conciliate the affections, as well as to command the obedience, of those over whom they were placed.”

Similar testimony has been given by Lieut.-Genl. Sir George Pollock, before the Commons’ Committee. In his examination, he admitted a change in the relation between officers and sepoys, which he partly attributed to the effect of the system of withdrawing so many of the former for civil staff situations. He suggested, as a palliative, an encrease of the number of officers, but this remedy would not meet the case. It is not number only which is thus rendered deficient, but *esprit de corps*. The interest of a soldier should lie in his proper profession. The corps should be his *domicilium*.

Simultaneously, we find Mr. Marshman urging limitation to the period of service, and plainly designating a civilian waiting on after twenty or twenty-five years, as staying “longer than he ought to do.” Circulation of *personnel* becomes as necessary in India as change of air. After so long enjoyment at the feast, the lines of Lucretius may be addressed, though we would wish to see the good man enjoy a pension!

“Cur non, ut plenus vitæ conviva, recedis;  
Æquo animoque capis securam, sulte, quietem?”

Thus may one easy remedy be found. The two interests, the army and the civil staff, may not be so separate from each other. They may be furthered and promoted together.

There is recorded also, at this time, the deliberate and earnest opinion delivered by Sir Charles Trevelyan, that the period has now arrived, when, instead of further augmentation, the military forces in India ought to be greatly reduced, for there is no longer the slightest necessity for continuing to keep up such a vast army. Why, surely Sir Charles must, in heart at least, be one of the peace party!

We hazarded an opinion in our former article upon Assam, in favour of stamps as a check upon vain litigation. Since then we learn that the present Deputy Commissioner has hit upon

some other remedy instead. There can be no doubt that gratuitous justice is the right principle. Government assumes so much respecting territory, magistracy, taxation, and so forth, that the least it can do in return is to afford protection without further payment. Nor can it even do this perfectly. Injury still goes on, state machinery itself becomes imperfect and corrupt—still it is bound to try to administer justice, and to protect the rights and liberties of the people, without extra expenses. We therefore rejoice to hear of any better plan than stamps as a check upon frivolous cases. Especially where the course of proceedings is not rapid, but slow. We admire the windings of the shining Dove bounding the fair shires of Stafford and Derby, but can descry no beauty in a meandering *mukudma*, albeit we have heard “the law’s delays,” (enumerated by the philosophical Prince of Denmark, among those ills of life which only religion can render supportable), represented as most delectable. Another desideratum is the power of enforcing decrees. Whereas at present, if a plaintiff should at length obtain a decree in his favour, he is sometimes obnoxious to the banter of the other side.

Mr. Robertson’s account of the meeting of the British and Burmese Commissioners, is curious and suggestive. Here were two parties meeting at Melloon, and claiming, without any misgivings, the right to dispose, as they pleased, of other countries.

“*British.* Do you cede the four Provinces of Arracan?”

“*Burmese.* We do.

“*British.* Will you cede Assam?”

“To this no distinct reply could be obtained, and after half an hour of fruitless talk, a note-book was produced, in which one of the chiefs made a memorandum of the provinces required in cession, &c., &c., &c.”

Thus, indeed, do men “call the lands after their own names.” Truly, “the kings of the gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them, are called benefactors. But,” it is added, “ye shall not be so.” Benefactors! yes, as the Psalmist sayeth, “men will praise thee, when thou doest well to thyself.” In fact, by what title can one generation possess and monopolise, and bequeath the soil of the earth, so that they who come after shall be as interlopers upon sufferance? All the places taken before hand. No room left. They had better go back again!

The conclusion of Mr. Robertson’s volume is full of temperate and enlightened observation, which reflects credit on the head and heart of the author. We commend the work to those who wish to form a just judgment about our eastern

frontier. The question about the annexation of Prome and Pegu, was at that time debated and rejected. The boundary line, the nature of the country, the character of the people, were discussed, and the number of troops necessary for such a frontier was calculated at six European regiments, and a strong native force.

"There is a peculiarity," says Mr. Robertson, "in our relations with the Burmese, which, of all our Indian rulers, the Marquis of Hastings alone seems clearly to have discerned. That people does not form part of the great Indian family of nations. What passes among them, does not enter into the bill of fare served up to native quidnuncs. Little or nothing of it would be known to Indian durbars, if it were not forced upon their notice, by our own indiscreet disclosures. The Burmese are, as Mr. Price said, children in knowledge, and it would be well if we were to treat them as such, and not allow every burst of petulance, on their part, to hurry us into wars, to be waged at the cost of the poor people of India."—"We ourselves give a factitious importance to Burmese surliness, and then cry out that the dignity of the British Government will suffer in the eyes of the natives, if the injury, of which they know nothing, be not avenged by a war for which they must pay."—"The assertion will be hooted at, but it may be maintained, that the Burmese have made good Mr. Price's prediction, in 1826, that they would never again seek a rupture with the British. No subsequent preparation, on their part, has ever evinced a consciousness of any thing having been done to provoke a war."—"The word and blow diplomacy has a show of vigour to win the applause of the more ardent worshippers of progress; but it is not the diplomacy of Barry, Close, Malcolm, Elphinstone, or Metcalfe, in earlier days; or of George Clerk, and Sutherland, who kept the Punjab and Rajputana quiet and friendly, during a more recent season of disaster, when the hostility of those states would have worked our ruin."

"If, however, the system under which our Empire has risen and thriven, is to be discarded in our dealings with the ultragangetic nations, would it not be better that the Crown should take all the countries east of the Yeomadong mountains, and form of them another colonial dependency like Ceylon? The cost of the war now in progress, and of other wars looming in the distance, would then fall, as it ought to do, on the people of Great Britain, and not on the natives of India."

At the meeting of the native community at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 29th of July last, the chairman, Raja Radha-

kant Deb, Bahadur, is reported to have remarked, "as to the increase of revenue, it may be said that it follows territorial aggrandizement, as a matter of course. This circumstance, generally speaking, is a source of great gratification to us." But an eminent modern English economist, who has been compared to Spinoza, is far from confirming this rosy view. He says, "it turns out, that extension of empire is not synonymous with increase of wealth; but that, on the contrary, aggressions, bred of the desire for territorial gain, entail loss."

The following conversations with some young folk in Assam, will give some idea of the state of sentiment prevailing amongst various classes of the community. They have at least the merit of being genuine, and may possess some interest for the missionary and the philanthropist :—

#### SIBRAM AND GENTLEMAN.

G. Tell me, Sibram, when in company with other young men of Gowhatty, do you ever converse about what is to come after death?

S. Yes, Sir, very frequently.

G. And upon other subjects of religion?

S. Certainly.

G. Your generation, I believe, do not exactly follow the creed of your fathers?

S. Not strictly in all things.

G. You do not really worship idols?

S. (*Smiling.*) No, Sir, but some still love to preserve ancient customs, like Baboo D. C.

G. What then do you know, or believe, of God?

S. We do not know much. We know God is great, and wise, and fine, and that He is angry with vice, and pleased with good.

G. What do you know of God's will?

S. We know but little, but our inward heart tells us in some measure what is right, and what is wrong.

G. And after death, what then?

S. Good people will be happy, but bad people will be punished.

G. Well, Purmanundoh, have you been performing your poojah, that you come thus crowned with flowers?

*Pur.* I am not in the habit of poojaing, Sir.

*G.* How then do you worship the gods?

*Pur.* We go to a temple, and there we meditate and pray.

*G.* From book, or as you think at the moment?

*Pur.* From book.

*G.* According to you, when a man dies, what happens?

*Pur.* His body becomes dissolved.

*G.* And his soul?

*Pur.* That does not die.

*G.* And is the soul conscious of former existence?

*Pur.* No, Sir, it cannot remember. Otherwise we should remember what we did before.

*G.* The soul then lived before?

*Pur.* Of course, Sir, it is divine.

*G.* And are earth, and stones, and trees divine?

*Pur.* No, Sir, they are not divine.

*G.* Is there no difference between the fate of good souls and of bad souls?

*Pur.* By sin they become separate from God.

*G.* The souls of men then continue to survive?

*Pur.* Yes, Sir.

*G.* In what manner?

*Pur.* In other forms.

*G.* How will the good and bad differ?

*Pur.* The good will have better forms, and the bad will have worse forms.

*G.* Explain further.

*Pur.* A bad soul will be united to a duck or a cat, or some meaner form.

*G.* How are you now instructed?

*Pur.* We have books, Sir, in our houses.

*G.* Have you teachers to explain the meaning?

*Pur.* Formerly we used to have teachers, but now in Assam there are few remaining, and they are very poor.

*G.* Well, you may take leave now, and proceed to your scholars.

*Pur.* Very well. Good day, Sir.

---

*G.* Katiram, how is your father now?

*K.* In the same state, Sir, as he has long been, or rather, he grows worse.

*G.* Tell me his present condition.

*K.* His hands and feet, Sir, are now both gone, his arms are stiff, and he can hardly bend them. Pieces of bone are

coming forth. His body feels as if insects kept falling upon it, he can scarcely speak, and cannot eat or drink.

G. Does he take any medicines?

A. No, Sir, he now only wishes to appease the spirits.

G. Is he an old man?

A. He is about forty years old, Sir; if he were not thus affected, he would be strong.

G. Is his mind at ease?

A. Yes, Sir, his friends join to observe the customs, and lend him assistance. One thing he desires, with your aid, to collect together those of his own caste, and entertain them at a meal, and make his salaam, and receive their blessings.

G. Very well, Katee, I will afford this, do you see to the preparation.

K. If you please, Sir, it should be to-morrow night.

G. Very good.

K. (*Salams and exit.*)

Occurrences like the following are not confined to Assam, but are common in all Eastern countries.

Before going on board my boat, to proceed to Tezporé, Jellah, an omedwar, related to my Tekeluh, presented himself with some flowers which he placed in my hand. He was an intelligent well-disposed lad, who had been waiting patiently for employment, and I said, that on my return he should wait attendance and receive some *korahy*, until he could obtain a situation. At this he went off, having made his salaam, in high glee. In the evening I went on board, and moved the following morning. At that time cholera was sweeping away the people of Gowhatty. We made a long trip to Tezporé, being delayed by the fitful weather after the vernal equinox. Ere arriving, we all, self, servants, maunjec, and boatmen, were expecting to hear news from our home at Gowhatty; in particular, Katiram chuprassee, who had left his newly married wife, and knew that a letter from his *chota bhai* would have been despatched. He brought with speed a packet of *daks*, out of which I gave him an Assamese letter. He retired forthwith to read it, and returned after a while with a changed countenance. I asked, is all well?

K. All well in your honor's bungalow.

G. And at your home?

K. All well in your slave's house, but (bursting into tears) ellah is dead.

G. Dead!

*K.* Yes, saheb, he was taken with cholera the night after your honour started, and died next morning.

*G.* I half thought you were going to bring him with you, and you remember I spoke, ere leaving, of finding some employment for him on return.

*K.* Yes, Sir. Jellahu was a good person, and we were like brothers, and he was very useful for me at home, and when I was absent from home.

On returning, I inquired and learned further particulars.

During the afternoon, Jellahu had been very well and happy, playing, laughing, and singing with his friends. He was taken slightly ill, without being alarmed. Then he got worse. They laid him down inside a house, and attended him all night.

*G.* Did he think he should not recover?

*K.* In the morning his strength was gone, and he knew what condition he was in.

*G.* Did he want for any thing?

*A.* No, Sir, all was done as usual.

*G.* Did he suffer much pain?

*K.* The pain became less towards the end.

*G.* Was his mind unhappy?

*K.* No, sir, he invited his neighbours around, and made them his farewell, and they uttered their good wishes.

*G.* Was he in fear of dying?

*K.* No, sir, not in fear.

*G.* Did they afterwards burn him?

*K.* No, sir, I was absent from home with your honour, and there were no means of procuring wood for burning, nor strength for carrying him away so far to the sands of the river, so they laid him in the earth, on the little hillock at the back of our house.

#### GENTLEMAN AND BROJIAHKANTOH.

*G.* I want to know, Brojiah, how you young men of Assam go on now as regards religion.

*B.* O, my lord, this is a bad age we live in, and during its continuance religion does not flourish.

*G.* Do you think many Assamese will become Christian?

*B.* Who knows? but I do not think they will.

*G.* Do you think they will give up any bad customs of their own, and adopt any good ones of ours?

*B.* They may do so, preserving their caste.

*G.* But not otherwise?



*B.* By breaking their caste, they become worse.

*G.* But your customs are so unsocial: your friends cannot even invite you to dinner.

*B.* (*Laughing.*) We can converse and associate so far as custom allows.

*G.* Have you learned any thing concerning our religion?

*B.* Yes, my lord, I have heard and read of it. It is very good.

*G.* Have you heard any other words as good?

*B.* All religion is, in some degree, similar; some parts are like, and some parts are different.

*G.* Now, pray, are you religious yourself, according to your own notions?

*B.* (*Smiling.*) Your slave is not now religious; not all people are religious, nor at all times. Perhaps I may at some time become so.

*G.* I hope so for your sake. You may now take leave.

*B.* Salaam.

#### WITH A BENGALI BOY RESIDENT IN ASSAM.

*G.* Utsurbanundoh, do you attend office now?

*U.* No, sir, I go to school.

*G.* Has your father much work to do?

*U.* Yes, sir, as Sherishtadar, and he often gives us papers to write out at home.

*G.* Which are the best qualified writers, Bengalis or Portuguese?

*U.* The Bengalis, sir, for the higher duties. We call the Goa natives, tash firinghees, but when with them, we address them as "Sir;" yourselves we call *Lingrezi saheb*.

*G.* And you are a Bengali?

*U.* Yes, sir; we are Brahmins.

*G.* Well, can you tell me what happens when a Hindu dies?

*U.* We mourn and eat no fish, nor—

*G.* I mean what happens to the person who dies?

*U.* If his sons perform the ceremonies, he goes to paradise, otherwise to hell.

*G.* What, for his son's neglect?

*U.* We do not speak so; we say, a man is born and dies. If he is vicious, then he goes to hell.

*G.* But if he is good, and his sons are vicious, and do not perform the ceremonies?

*U.* We do not speak so, sir: we say, a bad man has no son

who can perform the ceremony. His son will be a Christian, or for some other cause cannot perform the ceremony.

G. But suppose the case of a good man, whose sons are neglectful.

U. Then he has been bad before, in some

G. And what will follow?

U. He will begin again:—we are born a million times before we become a Brahmin. First, we are a maggot, then a tiger, then a cow, and so on to a Brahmin.

G. Then what becomes of the good man?

U. He will go to paradise direct, but a vicious man will begin again; he will become a maggot, then a tiger, and a cow, and so forth, a million of times. It is said, also, that those who see Khamykhya temple will go to paradise.

G. Well, I have stood outside it.

U. Oh, but they must go inside and touch it; but some say, that those who see Khamykhya hill will go to paradise.

G. Then Assam must be a good country, I suppose?

U. O! very few Assamese see Khamykhya; only a few Brahmins.

G. What other country have you seen?

U. I have seen Dhaca, sir, and my house is at Furrirdpore.

Chundernath. Sir, will you lend me a book.

G. With pleasure; what book do you want?

C. I want First Number Reader.

G. I have not got it.

C. Then what book will you lend?

G. (*Handing over a volume*). Have you ever seen this?

C. (*Looking at it*). Oh, take it away, it is some of your religious books, I do not want to see it.

G. Can you read Bengali Romanized?

C. Yes, sir.

G. Look here, and see if you can understand.

C. (*Reads*). "Dui tin sakhyir pramukhit kathate saka bishay sthir haibe," Dui tin? Oh! Shakhiar! witnesses! C that is very good.

G. Well, here is a book I will give you.

C. What is its name?

G. Henry of Richentells. I will write your name in it.

C. Thank you, sir, I shall read it in two days. And then what shall I do? Colonel N. lends out a great many books. Why do not you?

G. I am always ready to lend to those who will read them

C. To lend books is very good. I have heard it is written in your scriptures, sir, if you lend, you shall have more. So if you lend me that one almirah full of books, then you shall have two almirahs full.

G. Come. When you have read that book, I will lend you a larger, that will take you many days to read.

C. Very well; thank you, sir; good evening.

Allusion has been made in one of the above dialogues to the preference till shewn for burial instead of burning. We find this noticed in Tavernier's curious account "of the kingdom of Assam."

"In the city of Azoo,"\* says he, "are the tombs of the kings of Assam, and of all the royal family. For though they are idolators, they never burn their dead bodies, but bury them. They believe that the dead go into another world, where they that have lived well in this, have plenty of all things; but that they who have been ill liverd, suffer the want of all things, being in a more especial manner afflicted with hunger and drought; and that, therefore, it is good to bury some thing with them to serve them in their necessities. This was the reason that Mirgimola found so much wealth in the city of Azoo."

According to Tavernier, "the Assamese were the people that formerly invented guns and powder, which spread itself from Assam to Pegu, and from Pegu to China, from whence the invention has been attributed to the Chinese. However, certain it is, that Mirgimola brought from thence several pieces of cannon, which were all iron guns, and store of excellent powder, both made in that country. The powder is round and small, like ours, and very strong."

Mirgimola is narrated to have sailed up one of the rivers "that comes from the Lake Chiamay, to the 29th or 30th degree," to have landed his army, and found "a country abounding in all humane necessaries," and, "being a Mahometan," to have "burned and sacked, all wherever he came, to the 35th degree." Here he understands "the king of Assam" to be awaiting his approach with a larger army than was expected, and "that he had several pieces of cannons, and great store of fireworks withal." Whereupon Mirgimola "thought it was not convenient to march any farther," especially as winter was "drawing on, which the Indians are so sensible of, that it is

‘ impossible to make them stir beyond the 30th or 35th degree, especially to hazard their lives.”

This traveller, who passed the space of forty years, visiting Turkey, Persia, and the Indies, gives a good character of “the kingdom of Assam” as being “one of the best countries of all Asia, for it produces all things necessary for humane subsistence, without any need of foreign supply. There are in it mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, iron, and great store of silk, but coarse. The country produces also great store of gum-lake, of which there is two sorts, one grows under the trees, of a red colour, wherewith they paint their linen and stulls; and when they have drawn out the red juices, the remaining substance serves to varnish cabinets, and to make wax; being the best lake in Asia for those uses.”

These observations were made, respecting Assam, about 200 years ago, and present a sad contrast to its present depopulated, impoverished condition. They however do but confirm the testimony which the nature of the country abundantly furnishes, of the prosperous condition which Assam is adapted for attaining, and which, please God, she may again attain, under a liberal, gentle, and popular administration, which shall protect the full rights and liberties of all classes, and encourage enterprise and progress, rather by removing any restraints and impediments, than by more direct interference.

From parts of Tavernier's descriptions, we half imagine that he has mixed together the customs of the Assamese with those of the neighbouring hill tribes. Thus he speaks of their greatest delicacy being the flesh of dogs. We have seen a couple of Nagas trot off with a black puppy, which they began preparing beside a tank with much apparent gusto, but such a dish would be as foreign to an Assamese as would be the *Aqua vite* with which this author makes the people wash down their food. He describes their making salt, by collecting great heaps “of that green stuff that swims at the tops of standing waters, which the ducks and frogs eat. This they dry and burn; and the ashes thereof being boiled in a cloth in water, become very good salt. The other way, most in use, is to take the leaves of Adam's fig tree, which they dry and burn; the ashes whereof make a salt so tart, that it is impossible to eat until the tartness be taken away; which they do by putting the ashes in water, where they stir them ten or twelve hours together; then they strain the substance through a linen cloth and boil it; as the water boils away, the bottom

' thickens; and when the water is all boiled away, they find at the bottom very good and white salt.

" (If the ashes of these fig-leaves they make a lye, where-with they wash their silk, which makes it as white as snow, but they have not enough to whiten half the silk that grows in the country."

He calls the capital of Assam Konnerup,\* which he places at thirty days' journey from the former capital bearing the same name. The king required *no subsidies* from the people, but the mines were for his use, which for the ease of his subjects, were worked by slaves. "So that all the natives of Assam live at their ease, and every one has his house by himself, and in the middle of his ground a fountain, encompassed with trees, and most commonly every one an elephant to carry their wives; for they have four wives, and when they marry, they say to one, 'I take thee to serve me in such a thing,' to the other, 'I appoint thee to do such business;' so that every one of the wives knows what she has to do in the house." He describes inhabitants in 'the southern parts' answering to the present appearance of the Nagas, "with a bonnet like a blew cap upon their heads, hung about with swine's teeth. They pierce holes in their ears, that you may thrust your thumb in, where they hang pieces of gold and silver. Bracelets also of tortoise-shells, and sea-shells, as long as an egg, which they saw into circles, are in great esteem among the meaner sort; as bracelets of coral and yellow amber among those that are rich."

There is something pleasing, despite the drawback of slaves, in 'the king,' so far consulting 'the ease' of his people. An Englishman, on first acquaintance with the Mofussil, is wont to be struck with the unusual predominance of the official element. He hears it asserted that Government *must* support its official even when in the wrong; although there is so much opportunity for imperfect human beings to indulge their own humour at the expense of others, and to abuse their authority. But is not this a partial view? As though a bishop, as of olden time, were to back up merely the clergy of his diocese, ignoring the laity? Let all classes and individuals really see and believe that the government is not for a few officials alone, but for themselves likewise, that what may be called the 'laity,' are protected, as well as professional

\* Konnerup.

officers, and how much will content, union, and rational loyalty be increased! otherwise there is likelihood that, under the name of privileges and protection, occasion may be furnished for oppression and injustice.

The following is a list of the Assamese holidays, referred to in a former Number, which are not current in Bengal:

*Bysak Bihu, seven days.* It is the custom in Assam, that on the 30th of the month of Chyet, or the first day of the Bihu, cows and buffaloes are bathed in the rivers, nullahs and lakes, as may happen to be available in the various divisions of the province, after oil and turmeric having been applied to their bodies; and on the second day the people prepare general banquets, and invite their kindred and friends to dine; all the people wear new clothes, and the remaining five days are celebrated by both men and women, with dancing, beating drums, and singing amorous and wanton songs about the country.

*Umbabachy, three days in the month of Ashar.* It is the belief in Assam that, in accordance with the records made by the ancient pundits in the Hindu Shastras, the earth becomes Rajoswallah for three days, within which time the widows of Brahmans, in the province, are not allowed to dine, but only to live upon milk and fruit; it is also forbidden to plough the lands. But on the fourth day all people become pure and saintly, having washed their clothes, and the yards, and floors of their houses.

*Monomshapujah, two days in the month of Serabun.* In this puja, agreeably to the customs of Assam, some people, having been attracted by evil spirits, jump, and dance in an astonishing manner; in some places idols are worshipped, and in the Khamkyha hill there is performed a grand puja, with dancing after the fashion described. Those who are possessed by the spirits are called Deodanis.

*Mugh Bihu, three days.* On the 30th of the month Push, or the first day of Bihu, young people, having erected small huts upon the sands in the bed of the rivers, and collected and arranged bambus, plantains, rushes, reeds, and wood, set fire to them in the early morning, while the people around are engaged in reading prayers to the Great God for some time, after which they proceed to their houses and invite their kindred and friends to fiffin, and in the evening amuse themselves with plays and sports. The remaining two days are kept by all the young people of both sexes, by dancing, playing and jumping with great agility.

*Ashvini*, one day. This holiday is not known to any people in Assam, excepting those who live on the banks of the Brahmaputra. It is the custom among such, being Hindus, to bathe in the river, by which performance, so intended, they become purified, as per affirmation inserted in the shastras kept by the original wise men ;—so saith our pundit.

Total sixteen days, for the holidays peculiar to Assam, as distinct from Bengal, during which the public offices are closed.

The days of the week are thus called :—

Sunday .....	Deobar.
Monday .....	Hombar.
Tuesday .....	Mongulbar.
Wednesday .....	Budhbar.
Thursday .....	Birosotibar.
Friday .....	Hukurbar.
Saturday.....	Honibar.

Mention was made in our previous article of the songs of the Assamese dooms. These melodies would form a singular collection, and would admit of very harmonious treatment. They consist principally of hymns, abounding in Sanskrit words, and the airs are excellently adapted for the exertion of paddling their *khel-naos*, 'their voices keep tune and their oars keep time.'

The air of the chorus of one of their most universally popular songs, appeared some years ago in a contemporary publication,\* and is commonly known as 'Ram bol.' To this hymn there belong many hundred verses, called the *pudd*, a few lines of which we have translated as a specimen.

### Ram-bol. Hurry-bol. Ek-hey.

' Brahm first I hail, incarnate Sonatam,  
The all avatai causing Narayan,  
Sprung from thy navel, Brahma saw the day,  
Thou countless figures dost assume for aye,  
First as a fish thou cleavest ocean's wave  
And the four Vedas from the flood didst save,  
A tortoise next on river Kherihooddhy,  
A thousand prohours! thou didst swell thy body,  
Thou Rajah bhaitobrot with awe descends  
The ocean fails to hold thy monstrous size.'

And so on for some 1,000 verses.

\* Benares Magazine.

† One prohour equal three hours

The following act of intercession, with which we now beg to conclude, is adapted from one of the letters of Winfred, Archbishop of Mayence, a zealous Missionary, who suffered martyrdom A. D. 755.\*

O merciful God, who willest all men to be saved,  
And to come to the knowledge of the truth,  
Have mercy upon the Assamese  
Hindus and Mahometans,  
And all the inhabitants of Assam.

Send O Lord, faithful missionaries among them,  
That they may escape from corruption and error,  
And be united as children of God.  
We are all of one blood and of one bone,  
And man soon goeth the way of all the earth,  
None confess unto Thee in the grave,  
Death cannot celebrate thee,  
We therefore beseech Thee O Lord  
That thy word have free course and be glorified  
Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen

\* Vide Charbon's English Church,

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ART. IV. *Italian Irrigation, being a Report on the Agricultural Canals of Piedmont and Lombardy, addressed to the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by R. Baird Smith, G. S., Captain in the Army, and 1st Lieut. Engineers, Bengal Presidency. Printed by order, 2 Vols. 1852.*

ONE chief cause of the shortcomings of British rule in India, is the dulness of our sympathies and interest in the country and its inhabitants. We speak not now of the fervid yet fitful interest awakened by Charter discussions, and in reality maintained by English, not by Indian policy, which will soon relapse into apathy; as surely as in the human frame debility supervenes on fever. But we speak of the ordinary current of Indian public life, of the mechanical manner in which we study affairs, which, if connected with an European country, we should study *con amore*; and we say that the best mode of enlivening attention is, if possible, to associate Indian subjects with their cognate subjects in the West, that thus the ray of European intelligence may be reflected on the opaque objects of Asiatic politics. Few works referring to India have realized this view more completely than the book placed at the head of this article. In the contemplation of the subject of Italian irrigation, the interest of public works in India is heightened by the interest of public works in a land the most lovely and romantic under the sun. The eras of Feroze and Akbar are compared with the eras of the Sforzas and Viscontis; the communities of Hindustan with the communes of the once famed Italian republics; the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna is associated with the Doab of the Ticino and the Adda; the districts of Northern India with the classic plains of Lombardy and Piedmont.

The author is well known as one of the ablest canal officers in this Presidency; and an article from his pen, on the irrigation canals of the North Western Provinces (now recast and reprinted in the present work) previously adorned the pages of this *Review*. When on furlough in England, he was deputed by the Court of Directors to examine the irrigation of Northern Italy, with a view to framing practical suggestions for the Canal Department of India; and the book now under notice is the fruit of this mission. The first volume comprises the personal narrative of travels and researches, and the statistical account of the canals in Alta Italia; the second, a disquisition on the system of irrigation, the distribution of the water, and the legislation with reference to the rights and interests con-

nected therewith. In a separate portfolio are given a series of excellent maps and plans.

For the study of canal irrigation, experience would be sought for on three heads: *first*, the construction of the canals; *second*, the efficient maintenance of the works; *third*, the distribution of the water, with a due regard to the interests both of individuals and of the state. Now, without insinuating any disparagement of the Italians, and without any national arrogance, we may accept at the outset the conclusion broadly stated by our author, that in the construction of canals, the English in India have nothing important to learn from them. In fact, when the relative magnitude of Northern India and Northern Italy are considered, it could hardly be supposed that, as regards the construction and maintenance of canals, our Engineers should be inferior to their Lombard or Piedmontese brethren. Our irrigable territory is infinitely larger, our physical obstacles heavier, and our works on a far grander scale than theirs. Let the reader picture to his mind the valley of the Po, which is the irrigated district of Italy. The river runs due east and west, parallel with the lower Alpine Range, and about fifty miles from its base. The valley is crossed at many places by rivers which flow from the mountain lakes to join the Po, and from which most of the canals are derived;—such as the Adda, and the Adige, and the Ticino. The last-named river divides the western portion or Piedmont, belonging to the Sardinian Government, from the eastern portion or Lombardy, so well known to be groaning under the Austrian yoke. Now it will be obvious that this tract, rich and celebrated as it is, and comprising such cities as Turin, Milan, Venice, Pavia, Lodi, Mantua, and Verona, yet being only 150 miles long, (east and west) and something less than fifty miles broad, (*i. e.* from the hills to the river) cannot, in physical and material importance, be compared to the canal regions of Northern India, which, in point of area and population, exceed the whole British Isles, to say nothing of the irrigated districts of the Southern Presidencies. Consequently, the Italian works, though excellent in their way, appear positively insignificant, when compared with the Anglo-Indian. It would not be easy to make an accurate comparison between the canal statistics of two countries situated in different quarters of the globe, especially as the expenditure cannot be compared fairly, the cost of labour in one country being about four times as much as in the other; but a few salient contrasts may be selected to illustrate our meaning. For instance, the new Gauges canal is expected to irrigate one-half million of acres; the western Jumna

canals, actually do irrigate that amount. Yet the entire irrigated area of Lombardy and Piedmont is about the same, namely, one-half million of acres. Thus one monster Indian canal will irrigate as much as all the canals of Northern Italy put together. Further, there is no canal in Italy exceeding eighty miles in the aggregate length of its main channels, yet the Eastern Jumna canal is 500 miles long, the Barce Doab canal will be 400 at least, and the Ganges canal 850. Again, the greatest cubic discharge to any one canal in Italy is 2,000 feet per second; the greatest in India will be upwards of 7,000. Lastly, many of their works are antique (rather a disadvantage in a scientific point of view), whereas ours are modern. For although every revolution which has swept over unhappy Italy has been distinguished for good or for evil in connection with irrigation, yet it was in the splendid period of Italian Republics, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, that canals multiplied over the face of the country. Hence it is, that many existing works were planned and executed in the rude and early era of hydraulic engineering, whereas our works are all the products of the last fifty years. Therefore, without any intention to depreciate, we may say that, in regard to works of irrigation, India carries away the palm from Italy. We trust that the author may have succeeded in explaining these facts to his Italian friends, and we wish he could impress them on the Indian Reform Society.

But when we turn to the distribution of water, and to Canal Legislation, then the tables are turned on ourselves. Amidst the most harassing obstacles from vested interests, conflicting theories, and political vicissitudes, the Italians have, for centuries past, unremittently proceeded with the minutest Canal Legislation. Code after code, and rule after rule, has been promulgated, revised, enlarged, improved. Abuses, both grave and multifarious, which had sprung up before this legislative course had been started on, have been assiduously striven with, but not always overcome. But on the whole, it may be said that in a territory densely thronged with a litigious population, and where both land and water are most valuable and most eagerly sought for, there is no interest (except perhaps that of the state) left without provision, no private right disregarded. Engineering colleges of the most efficient description have been founded; an able and respectable class of Civil Engineers (called "periti") exists, composed of men not only scientifically skilled, but acquainted with all social and legal questions concerning canals; the tribunals are thoroughly versed in canal affairs, and there is a bar especially devoted to the law of irrigation. We

have indeed the college at Burki, an excellent institution, but no more comparable with its precursors at Turin and Milan than the Naviglio Grande of Milan with the Ganges canal. When, indeed, we reflect upon the state to which the Italian legislation has been elaborated, and upon the historic personages by whom it has been matured, such sovereigns as Charles V., Francis I., Maria Theresa, the Emperor Napoleon, and Charles Albert, and by such bodies as the Municipal Assemblies of the Italian Republics, the Senate of Venice, and the Aulic Council of Vienna—and when, on the other hand, we reflect that our entire Canal Legislation is embodied in *one* Act of the Government of India, and *one* resolution by the Lieut.-Governor of the North Western Provinces, then certainly we are constrained to hide our diminished heads for the present.

It has been already stated that a large portion of the work under review has been devoted to that description of irrigation, in which the author justly considers that good Canal Legislation forms a main element. He has accordingly furnished a history of legal reform, and a resumé of the law as it now stands, both in Lombardy and Piedmont; and without specifying minutely what future legislation in India should be, he urges the expediency of borrowing many of the leading principles in the Italian law. Of this law not only is a general abstract given, but in order that the reader may judge for himself, the most important clauses and sections have been translated *in extenso*. A catalogue *raisonnée* of authorities is appended, and it is worthy of observation that the author has brought copies of the most valuable works with him out to India, to enrich the library of the Burki College. On the great practical utility of these proceedings, any comment of ours is superfluous: but we cannot refrain from noticing the power of research evinced by the author in mastering such a subject, within so limited a time, and in acquiring such a varied mass of information from such scattered sources, and this, too, when the language employed was foreign, and the technical terminology both abstruse and elaborate. It is to be hoped, that these labours will not be lost on the legislation of India, and in order that the subject may receive some preliminary ventilation, we propose briefly to consider what are the points hitherto left without legal definition or provision, what points are likely to rise hereafter, and what lessons are to be derived from Italian experience. It is not improbable that the codification of laws may occupy much attention in this country for some years to come, and in promulgating a really effective canal code, it will be a task

worthy of the Italian Government to emulate the regulations of the Millage, and the civil code of Charles Albert.

But in passing to this subject, it must be observed that legislation, to be efficient and protective of the interests both of the state and of individuals, ought to be prompt and timely, if not immediate. Laws relative to canals, if enacted in time, are simple in their provisions, and easy in the enforcement, but they become complicated in the one and difficult in the other, if delay, and with it a variety of adverse interests and prescriptive abuses, are permitted to intervene. If one lesson more than another is forced upon the attention by the record of Italian experience, it is this;—The Italians commencing their canals, during the bright epoch of Republican independence, took no thought of the future adjustment of rights and interests. Then ensued, at least a century and a half of calamitous disputes, abuses, irregularities, and misappropriations. When the evil became too monstrous and widespread to be endured quietly, or remedied effectually, then there ensued another century and a half of strenuous, though abortive efforts at legislation. At length, after three centuries of travail, they have succeeded, within the last 200 years, in introducing a system of laws, which, though excellent in theory, and worthy of all imitation, still leave intact many sturdy old abuses, and are not unfrequently disobeyed in practice. But in justice to the Italians, it must be remembered that their canals have been surrounded with constitutional, social, and political complicities. They seem to be the one permanent institution of Northern Italy, perpetually re-appearing after all the storms and transitions of history. They have been the subjects of armed contention between rival principalities; and of formal treaties between potent empires. The proprietorship of land, water, and revenue, has been mixed up with questions of feudal law, and debated between the the Farmer and the Baron, and again between the Baron and the Parliament. Many canals have followed the changeful fortunes of fiefdoms and suzerainties. The noble families, bearing names so famous in literature, in art, in war, in statesmanship, have all been connected with the canals. The church even recognised irrigation among its secular concerns. Bishops constructed canals, and some of the most influential proprietors and staunchest perpetrators of abuses were monastic bodies. In the vicinity of the cities, other difficulties were aggravated by the position and influence of the municipal corporations. In this way abuses grew up, which the several Governments sometimes encouraged from policy, and sometimes

tolerated from inability to resist. Attempts at improvement were often met by tumult and insurrection. Patriotic reformers having perilled their lives and fortunes, were condemned to banishment, poverty, and even starvation. When the powerful vested interests above recounted, when single often a match for the state, and when united always superior to it,—had been permitted to acquire immunities and privileges, they not only held their own, but they also threw the shield of their sympathy and concurrence over all minor abuses, by whomsoever maintained. The evil, if assailed at the commencement, might have been suppressed, but when strengthened by prescription, it became as indestructible as the hydra. The result was, that the state, losing all control over the supply of water, was deprived of its dues; that rich nobles, corporations, and ecclesiastics fattened at the expense of the community; that selfish usurpations, discreditable contests, and wanton private injuries, were rife and frequent. After ages of toil and trouble, much of this has been remedied. The state, however, has never regained its lost ground; and perpetual grants of water, and all kind of immunities, are still most common. Many canals, which have trebled and quadrupled the population of their districts, and converted plains from marshes into gardens, yet barely repay to the state the cost of their maintenance; and Capt. Smith informs us, that it is a well understood thing in many parts of Italy, that canals, however much they may benefit agriculture, never answer as Government speculations.

Now happily we are free from most of those difficulties which beset the Italians. We have few or no embarrassing antecedents, the state of society offers no obstacle, and at present there is a *tabula rasa* to work upon. Nevertheless, Capt. Smith, one of our first canal officers, declares that abuses may and will arise, unless provided against beforehand. We trust that the warning will not be thrown away. Perhaps abuses may already have arisen, or are arising. The existing method and measures of the supply and distribution of the water are confessedly imperfect. If a system by which some receive more, and others less than they ought, be continued too long, may not its alteration eventually become difficult? If certain parties have, for a considerable period, enjoyed a particular supply, and on the expectation of that supply have entered into speculations and made arrangements, and then it is discovered that hitherto an error has prevailed, and that the supply must be reduced in justice to the state, or to the individuals, or that extra payment must be made—would there not be some hesitation in pressing these demands, especi-

ally if complaints poured in? Again, if immunities are temporarily granted for political or personal reasons, which reasons after a time pass away, have not these grants a tendency to become perpetual or indefinitely prolonged? At all events, their resumption is more difficult than their concession. In Italy half the canal revenues are frittered away by these grants, and the Government is powerless even for their curtailment. Now, in India, the power of the Government to dictate its own terms at all times is undoubted; nevertheless, the general tenderness of the law towards those who incur its penalties, and become amenable to its demands, is certain. The state is usually reluctant to enforce its own claims against its ryots, with anything that can bear the semblance of severity. Individuals should not be allowed to entertain unjust expectations even on colorable grounds, lest afterwards the authorities should be induced to realize them. It is not impossible that many injurious concessions, which an Italian Government makes on sheer compulsion, a powerful Indian Government might make from a merciful policy.

To take a single instance, when the Rajbuna system (irrigation from branch channels) was substituted for the Colabuh system (irrigation from the main channel), on the Eastern Jumna canal, an improvement of unquestionable importance, grave dissatisfaction was both felt and expressed by those who had profited by the abolished system. On that occasion, no doubt, the clamour was resisted; but suppose that hereafter it should be necessary to introduce still more searching reforms, and if grave dissatisfaction should arise among a greater number of agriculturists, who can say what effect it might produce, and what retarding force it might exert? Following out this train of thought, we might enquire whether already the interests of the state have not been partially compromised in the matter of water-rent. When the rates in the North West Provinces were fixed some forty years ago, it is believed that they were purposely kept low, so that they might afford exceedingly cheap irrigation to the agriculturists, without ensuring a remunerative investment for the public capital, inasmuch as the Government was supposed to look for its reward to the improvement of the territory. Certain it is, that no private company could afford to take such low rates, unless it was composed of landholders who could furnish unpaid labour; nor could the people procure for themselves such cheap irrigation in any other manner. It is often boasted that this supply is two, three, and even four times as cheap as well irrigation; but is this a matter for unalloyed congratulation? In the case of the

Jumna canals, many years elapsed before the income defrayed the current expenditure, and more before a nett return was yielded to the state. Suppose that Government (as it well may be) should, independent of philanthropic considerations, be desirous of rendering the new works, such as the Ganges and Punjab canals, really profitable speculations, yielding speedy returns. In this case, it might seem expedient that the water rent rates in the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna should be higher than those which have hitherto prevailed west of the Jumna. Yet will not the past rates of the Jumna canals affect the future rates of the Ganges canal? Will there not be some difficulty felt in enforcing for the one canal rates materially higher than those of the others? And then, if an uniform system of low rates be established in the North West Provinces, will not that re-act on the Punjab rates? And here, we say nothing of the difficulty which might be felt in enhancing the old rates of the Jumna canals. It is of course true, that every lakh of canal revenue, which Government surrenders, is so much prosperity conferred on a particular province. But on the other hand, it is perhaps so much prosperity abstracted from the provinces which might have been also blessed with canals, had the lost revenue been gathered into the coffers of the state. If from the income of every canal it constructs, the Government can effect an immediate clearance of current expenses, and obtain such a percentage on the venture, as shall speedily liquidate the principal, it will go on constructing canals until every Doab shall be like that of the Ganges and Jumna, and every delta like that of the Kistna and the Godavery. Therefore, we submit, that water rates should be fixed on commercial principles, according to the full market value of the article; that the right, power, and intention of the Government, to lease the water on these terms, and on no others, and to modify these terms from time to time, according as fluctuations of value dictate, or contracts with individuals permit, be thoroughly impressed on the minds of the people, and that an approximation to this rule be gradually effected in those localities, where it has not hitherto been observed.

We now proceed to touch on some of those points, which, if the future development of canal irrigation is to be minutely regulated, will demand consideration. For the settlement of details, legislation (in the technical sense of the term) will not be required at first. The Government of the North Western Provinces might be directed to prepare a set of rules or bye-laws, to regulate all matters, of whatsoever description, connected with canals and water-courses, whether constructed



at the public or private expense. Such rules, though primarily applicable to these provinces, yet framed on full information, and if complete and accurate in principle, might subsequently be applied to all other parts of India.

The first articles in such a series would declare the position of the Government as absolute proprietors of all public canals, in that capacity to be bound only by its own acts and agreements. In Italy such a definition would have cost much trouble, but in this country the rights of Government stand alone and distinct, and there is nothing to interfere with its direct and immediate action. The ownership of the Government over the running water of streams and rivers would also be asserted. This point, though it may have occasioned discussion in Italy, can hardly be doubted here. The right should nevertheless be asserted, because it can be made the basis of further authority, which may be beneficially claimed by Government; for private individuals and associations, when they make canals and water cuts (generally with great advantage to themselves and their neighbours) do, in point of fact, assume that power over running water, which properly belongs to the state, as trustee for society at large. And the state, when permitting the exercise of this power, may rightfully claim a controlling and supervising authority. It will indeed usually be the policy of the Government (as will be seen hereafter) to encourage such individuals, and to arm such associations with legal powers and organization, but no less will it sometimes be the duty of Government to restrain and control, out of due regard to the welfare of the vicinity, as well as that of the projectors themselves.

The next section would embrace the constitution of private Companies for the construction of canals and water-cuts. Associations of villages and of individuals for these purposes already exist in many parts of the country. Their works have been planned with tolerable skill, are maintained and administered with much efficiency, and are productive of great benefit to agriculture. They are to be found in most of the valleys which skirt the Himalayan Range. They flourish in various parts of the Punjab; for example, the well-known Moultan canals were chiefly excavated and maintained by them. They were of much importance when it was first resolved, on the Eastern Jumna canal, to branch off Rajbuhas, that is, main water-cuts to conduct the water from the canal to particular localities. All the first Rajbuhas were cut by them and at their expense, under the direction of the canal officers. Subsequently, indeed, it has been found preferable, that the Rajbuhas should

be constructed by the canal department, and placed on the same footing as the main channels. And it has been more recently determined, that on the Ganges canal, no outlets for irrigation from the main channel are to be permitted; but that the supply of water shall be distributed from a chain of Rajbhas running parallel with either bank of the canal, which Rajbhas are to be constructed by Government as accessory works to the canal. Consequently, it is not probable that the services of private societies will be again called into requisition for the construction of the chief Rajbhas at least. Still the development of irrigation will necessitate the construction of countless minor Rajbhas. A Government Rajbha conducts the water to a certain locality; from it will then be derived, by private means, some larger water-cuts for the use of the particular set of villages in common, and certain smaller cuts for the use of some particular village alone. Here then is the germ of one kind of society, composed of certain villages, and another composed of the proprietors of a particular village. These societies are now very numerous, and will become still more so. Let any readers, who may be curious on this subject, consult Capt. Smith's map of the Doab of the Ticino and the Adda, covered literally and positively with a close net-work of channels, and in sober reality, surpassing far the caricatured representations of the future railway map of England; and let them reflect upon what will be the number and importance of private associations, when the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna, or of the Ravi and Beas, is reduced to a similar state of intersection. It will be seen, then, that there both are, and will be, societies of various degrees, for the construction of new and original canals, and of secondary channels from the Government canals and Rajbhas. In speaking of the organization of these societies, we shall not advert to societies for the maintenance and administration of affairs connected with irrigation. It is true that when a society has been formed for the construction of works, the same may afterwards systematize the irrigation; but the two objects are distinct, and the different kinds of society will be treated of separately. The construction societies (if we may use the term) then, great or small, should register their projects, with all particulars, at the offices of the canal authorities of their district. In the particulars would be included the nature and extent of the work, the parties undertaking it, the mode of subscription, and the future apportionment of the water. The authorities might then object or receive objections to the project within a reasonable time.

If the plan should be sanctioned, either in whole or with modifications, the society would proceed to elect one or more committees for the erection of the works, the levying of subscriptions, the furnishing of unpaid labour, and the like. In all these matters, the representatives or committee men would have powers to enforce the fulfilment of all agreements, and it would be their duty to report any default to the authorities. If any party, charged with the performance of any urgent part of the work, should delay in its execution, the managers should instantly take the matter into their own hands, and subsequently recover the expense from the proper person, by some stringent mode of realization. Independent of compulsion, penalties would be attached to default, and also liability for damages as compensation for any injurious delay or impediment which may have occurred. It is of consequence that the members of such associations should be promptly and strictly kept to their duty. Under a native Government, the majority would, without ceremony, apply force to any defaulter. Under the British Government they must either submit to the evil or resort to the law. If the managers should want either zeal or legal power, the result might be that some village would fail to furnish its quota of labourers, would execute its portion of the line badly or slowly, or some neglect near the head works, though not affecting the defaulter himself, might be most injurious to the other members; or some individual, charged with the clearance of some essential channel, would leave it uncleared. On the other hand, the authorities would receive any complaints that might be made against the managers, and enforce their responsibility both towards the public and towards the constituency. Some questions might possibly arise regarding the admission of parties to these societies, no person (whatever the moral obligation might be) could well be compelled to join, but sometimes persons, who would have a fair right to join, such as sharers in the village, or the upper class of cultivators (hereditary), if excluded, might demand admission.

Connected with the construction of works, another important point is, the "right of passage," that is, the right of conducting a canal or other channel through private property, under certain conditions, and of taking up land for that purpose, on payment of compensation, or the completion of some other arrangement with the owner. Among the Italians, it exists in full force, is rigidly observed and accurately defined. Embodied in the earliest laws, it is regarded as the Magna Charta of Italian irrigation, and the most time-honored of agricultural customs. In India, though partially recognized in practice, it has not

found its way into our statute book, and has no place in the one act and the one resolution. Nevertheless, the principle is understood by the peasantry. In irrigation from wells, the owner may conduct his little water channel through the intervening fields of his neighbour. And we believe it would be found, that in most of the village settlement records, a clause to this effect has been inserted in the Administration Paper. Sometimes disputes arise, and perhaps they are usually settled by a reference to the village record; but in the present state of the law, we doubt whether a Court of Justice would affirm the right, unless it had been provided for at a settlement, or unless proof of the custom in that particular village should be tendered. Now it will be understood that the right, as claimed by the state, is different from the same right when claimed by a private individual or company. The state takes the land it wants on behalf of the public, the private party asks to take his neighbour's land for his own benefit. In well irrigation, the ground occupied by the passage is so little, that none feel any inconvenience; but in canal irrigation, the encroachment is often serious. Nevertheless, the declaration of the right is absolutely essential to the development of irrigation. Different modes of compensation might be established for Government and for private individuals. Government would buy the land outright, under the same valuation as for all other land taken up on the public service. But in the case of private parties the Italian law declares the right of passage to be subject to what are technically termed "servitudes," that is, in plain language, the payment of cesses and ground rent, and to the performance of stipulated conditions. A similar rule might be adopted in this country. The private party should not be allowed to bring his neighbour's land to a forced sale, nor to take it in perpetuity. He can merely take it temporarily, for as long as the channel may be maintained, nor can he dispose of it for any other purpose. And if the channel should be at any time discontinued, the ground reverts into the possession of the proprietor. During its occupation, the irrigator must pay all dues that accrue on the land, whether the land revenue, village expenses, or any other cess, and besides these a money rent to the landlord. This rent should be fixed at a liberal rate; indeed, it might be well that an extra margin (as in Italy) should be allowed, as a fourth or an eighth, in lieu of the inconvenience which the landlord suffers in the surrender of his property. In some parts, both of India and Italy, the landlord is allowed to take a certain quantity of water from the channel, but this

mode is not a good one, and should not be introduced nor adopted, unless especially stipulated for by private agreement. It is perhaps hardly necessary to add, that on land taken up in virtue of the right of passage by Government, the revenue would be remitted, but not on land taken up by private parties. But when the state or a private party exercises the right of passage, several important obligations are contracted, besides that of compensation. Not only must that line be selected which shall be least injurious to the landlord, and the least possible amount of ground be taken, but the irrigator must guard against all injury to the adjoining lands from leakage, stagnation, or other cause. He must keep all roads and foot-paths open, he must provide means of drainage for the rain water, lest the banks of his channel become a dyke for the formation of marshes; in short, he must take care to make himself as slight a nuisance as possible to the neighbours, on whom he has forced his society. The Sardinian Civil Code categorically imposes all these or similar obligations, and the example might well be followed here. It will have been already seen that full opportunity would be given to those through whose land passage might be demanded, of laying before the canal authorities any objections they might entertain against the projected line.

In relation to the last-named heading, may be noticed the determination of what are called "Protective distances." In Italy this matter seems to have been a prolific source of unsatisfactory litigation, but the Piedmontese law exhibits as much precision as the subject admits of. The single clause contained in the Indian law seems very meagre, and moreover contains an inaccuracy, which Capt. Smith has pointed out, with a view to its remedy. The objects of protective distances appear to be two-fold; first, that lands which are so near a channel as to derive moisture, from filtration and percolation, in an equal degree as if they received water, should be compelled to pay water rent, (for which the Indian Resolution does provide;) and, second, that channels and water-cuts should not be overcrowded, nor destroy each other's supply, nor be too near the boundaries of estates; and that new springs should not be opened too near to pre-existing ones (for which no provision is made.) Then the question arises as to what the distance should be. But into this we need not enter, as it is a purely professional point, and, moreover, its decision must hang on local variations and peculiarities. Uniformity has not been attained in Italy, and will not be attainable here. There must, no doubt, be maximum and minimum distances.

The questions hitherto touched on have related to the construction of works; we will now advert to questions connected with the supply of water from the said works.

Under this heading, (next after the assertion of the right and intention of the Government with reference to the supply from its own canals, in the manner we have previously described,) one of the cardinal points is the establishment of a "module" of water. In this are involved, firstly, an unit of measurement; and secondly, a machinery by which water may be exactly dispensed according to this standard. Now this object, one of the first in theoretical necessity, seems to be one of the last in actual attainment. In Italy it was for centuries the great apple of discord, to this day the utmost diversity prevails: and at Milan, where a tolerably good module has been established, it was one of the latest reforms effected. The standard is in one place regulated by area of channel, in another by movement of water-wheel, in another by "uncia" or inch. Then these "inches" vary; there would be one "inch" at Lodi, and a different one at Verona, or at Cremona, or at Brescia, or at Caluso, or at Novara. In India there is yet neither module nor machinery worthy of the name. The determination of both is a problem which remains for professional skill to solve. When they have been fixed, they should be at once incorporated in the canal rules, and prescribed for general adoption. This uniform standard obtained, some of the existing modes will be improved and secured, and others, such as the area standard (by which the value of the water is measured by the area irrigated under various crops) will be discontinued, except for certain kinds of land, such as rice. Indeed, the area system, though hitherto much in vogue, is pronounced by the best canal authorities to be radically vicious, and fit for nothing, except disuse. The standard module, when once promulgated, would be rendered compulsory on all Government channels, and would be the standard for the assessment of all water-rents derivable therefrom. How far it should be prescribed for private canals, and for contracts between individuals, might be doubtful. It would, perhaps, be sufficient to declare, as regards special transactions, that there would be no interference in explicit engagements, but that disputes would, in the absence of written contract, or in the event of the terms being doubtful, be decided with reference to the Government standard. The Piedmontese Government pursues a similar course; though prescribing a module, it allows full scope to private agreements, more in fact than requisite. In respect to private canal companies, it is worthy of considera-

tion whether the module should be enforced. As the irrigation, by revolutionizing the cultivation, may affect the constitution of the community, and the tenure of the estate, will probably cause an internal redistribution of the revenue, and perhaps, reallocation of the land, it is of the last importance that the water should be dispensed with all practicable exactitude. If we are really certain that our module is better than the association can invent for themselves, why not insist on their adopting it? At all events, the canal authority, in his capacity of visitor general of private canals, should have a discretionary power of introducing the module compulsorily wherever he found it necessary.

In respect to the granting of applications for water—it would be declared generally, as at present, that all cultivators whose lands lie within reach of the canal, are entitled to receive water on application. But if the supply is insufficient to meet all applications, will the rejection rest entirely with the canal officer, or will a certain day be fixed, after which all applications would be liable to rejection, or would certain rules for preference be laid down? Those whose lands have been taken up for the canal, certainly have a preferential claim. Beyond this, priority of application would be the best ground of preference. Proximity to the channel would not constitute such ground, especially after the introduction of Rajbhuas. Some provisions are required for the contingencies arising from failure of supply. In Piedmont, they are most complete. In the event of such failure, preference would be given to those who might have been declared specially entitled thereto. Then the most recent irrigators would be the first to be deprived of the water, and such is the rule at present. Those who might be thus deprived would obtain a rateable remission of water-rent, but not compensation for agricultural expenditure, incurred on the faith of receiving the water which has been withheld, and this equitable distinction is strictly laid down and observed in Piedmont; unless, indeed, the failure has arisen from the neglect or misconduct of any party, against whom an action for damages might be brought. In the above cases of failure, a *pro rata* distribution of the water (as much as this might be) among the irrigators, would hardly be just, and perhaps not practicable; but it might be the only course open in the case of a village channel, where all the sharers had joined, each man subscribing according to his share, on the condition that he was to receive water in the same proportion.

In respect of contracts, it may be presumed that the Government will not dispose of the water in absolute sale, nor make

any perpetual grants. That leases for a moderate term of years should be granted is highly expedient. In that case the lessee would have the power of subletting. The registry of all private contracts, at the canal offices, should be rendered obligatory. A system of well-framed contracts will prevent the many disappointments which arise in regard to prescription, which is imagined by one party and denied by the other. A party has for years enjoyed facilities of irrigation upon certain terms, without any specific agreement, and he deems himself entitled to a perpetuation of these advantages—if any changes should be attempted, he is aggrieved. Among the Italians, in consequence of the past confusion of tenures, great respect is everywhere paid to prescription. Successful resistance has been repeatedly made to attempted violations of it on the part of tyrannical canal proprietors, who, out of mere caprice, would strive to inflict sudden ruin on a whole district. In some parts twelve years and upwards constitute the term of possession which exempts an irrigator from all disturbance in his arrangements. No such rule need be prescribed here, because, as regards certainty of tenure, we start free of all encumbrances; moreover the preparation of the surface of the soil for irrigation is probably less expensive here than in Italy, and, consequently, the cultivator is less exposed to damage from a change of system. It will be sufficient that timely notice be given of any intended change.

In Italy there is a rule, termed a *diritto d'insistenza*, by which a party, who may possess canal water which he cannot use himself, may be compelled to lease it out to others. Capt. Smith gives some amusing stories of rich nobles, who, in a spirit of mere selfishness and mischief, refused to lease their surplus canal waters to drought-stricken farmers: one worthy positively turned the waters into the river Po! In these cases, the recusant is forced to give water to the applicants on the payment of equitable rent. Such conduct would, no doubt, be rare in any country, but it might not be amiss that power should be taken to enforce the obligation in the case of private canals. The Government has certainly a right to demand this, in return for the many privileges it secures to all irrigation.

There is a system styled "horary rotation," common both in Italy and India, by which cultivators take water in turns for a certain number of hours each. Disputes, if they should arise, would be of a trivial character, and the decision of them would generally be guided by the fundamental rule, that the irrigator is entitled to neither more nor less than all the water he can get from the canal during his time. Capt. Smith menti



two or three of the commonest kinds of disputes in Italy, and the mode of their adjustment in India. If any class of disputes can be specified as frequently recurring, rules of adjudication should be given.

We now proceed to sundry topics having reference to the maintenance and administration of the irrigation system. In this branch of the subject would be included the preservation of the works, in such a manner that the least possible injury shall accrue to the proprietors at large, the employers of the water, and the immediate neighbourhood; the prohibition and prevention of anything that may be prejudicial to the public health and convenience; and the infliction of adequate punishment on those who may commit acts injurious to irrigation, or may infringe rules promulgated for the general benefit.

For the attainment of these ends an important measure suggests itself. In Italy it has long been an understood principle that the canal administration is best carried on by associations of the irrigators themselves, under the direction of the executive. In respect to many canals, these administrative societies are of ancient date, and in rough times they are the only power that could maintain internal order and external security. During his short lived reign in Italy, Napoleon saw what important aid might be afforded to the Government, by an executive machinery of this description. He accordingly began to form the agriculturists of Lombardy into a number of executive societies, and the organization was subsequently adopted by the Austrian Government. The whole territory is now mapped out into divisions and districts for this purpose. Capt. Smith very properly recommends this plan to the notice of the Indian Government. Its feasibility and advantages are certain, and it easily admits of unlimited expansion, elaboration or contraction, simultaneously with the greater or less development of irrigation. The employers of a whole canal, or of the section of a canal, or the cultivators of a single village, may be formed into a larger or a smaller society; or subordinate societies may be formed within central societies; or existing societies, for the construction of works, may be kept up as conservancy associations. The habits of the agricultural community are eminently favorable to the introduction of such a system, and the work required would be done more effectively, economically, and beneficially, than it could be done in any other manner. It is generally admitted that there is one evil which the canal authorities can hardly overcome, namely, the corrupt practices of the subordinate watchmen and policemen. But if the irrigators

can be compelled themselves to guard the administration, and themselves to furnish watchmen, greater fidelity and efficiency will be secured. The canal officers can superintend the formation of these societies, the framing of bye-laws for their organization, and the election of office-bearers; and the exact duties and responsibilities of all parties would be defined. These societies, when formed, would be responsible for the prevention of trespass, fraud and theft, the observance of holidays, the proper and punctual closing of outlets, the protection of machinery, the securing of drainage, the prevention of leakage, marshy stagnation, and prohibited cultivation, the general execution of all sanitary measures, and the reporting of all offences, whether of omission or commission. If the office-bearers were well selected, rendered strictly responsible, and thoroughly supported in all endeavours they might make to do their duty, the system would, no doubt, work excellently.

Most of the branches of administration just enumerated are already partially provided for, but in almost all of them a more complete set of rules is needed. The labours of a well-known committee have laid a sound foundation for sanitary legislation, and there should now be no difficulty in defining the general sanitary obligations of every irrigator, and the special regulations to be imposed by the Canal Department on particular localities. This department of the Italian legislation is unsatisfactory. The chief cause of the failure has been the want of sufficient data and knowledge on the part of the Government. The authorities, with more zeal than information, are constantly attempting reforms, of real or fancied necessity, which attempts are always resisted by the farmers with equal pertinacity and greater skill, so that the only results have been intrigue and disturbances. Their statute book teems with stringent enactments against infractions of the law; some of which we would do well to borrow. There is a general want of punitive provision in our canal rules, and several proceedings, which quite amount to crimes, are treated as the most venial misdemeanors. To every administrative rule should be attached a specific penalty for its infringement, and several offences, such as the fraudulent taking of more water than has been bargained for, the abstraction of water, or wilful damage, should be declared what they really are, felonious acts, and punishable with imprisonment.

There yet remains to be considered the authority by which all these measures are to be superintended, and all these rights adjudicated. If irrigation should be developed to the extent, and in the manner we suppose, disputes and perhaps even liti-

gation must frequently arise. Then to what authority will reference be made? To the civil Court? As at present constituted, these courts are not competent to deal satisfactorily with such questions. Much special knowledge would be needed which they cannot be expected to possess. Many classes of cases connected with canals, in their nature judicial, would be best adjudicated by the canal officers. And if such be the fact, why should they not be vested with certain powers for this purpose? They already possess important fiscal and magisterial authority, and it might perhaps be expedient to give them some judicial authority besides. At all events, it would seem that the Government is bound to do one of three things:—either to render the civil courts themselves competent to decide canal irrigation questions; or to supply a class of men to render professional aid to the courts; or to vest the canal officers with judicial powers. As things are, the canal officers are doubtless, often constrained by their position to settle matters of right, and to perform acts which are in reality judicial. We have already explained the advantages which the Italian tribunals possess. They can always obtain the aid of professional men (*periti*) as assessors, but no such juries could be impanelled in this country.

In sketching a set of rules which might be applicable to the canal districts of Northern India, we have not pretended to state with legal precision, the various matters which such rules would embrace. We have merely thrown together the raw materials for legislation. But before concluding, it may be as well to recapitulate the substance of the preceding pages, and to group together the main proposals which they contain. It has been suggested then:—

#### RELATING TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF WORKS.

1. That a code of canal rules be drawn up, which should comprise detailed provision on the following points.
2. That in the unrestricted management of all public canals, the Government should be bound by nothing except its own acts and agreements.
3. That the exclusive right of the state to the running water of all rivers and streams be asserted, which right may be transferred to private companies or individuals, on the condition that they submit to state control.
4. That authoritative aid be given to private companies and associations for the construction of canals, in effecting a complete organization; and that sanction and validity be given to the acts which they may perform in their collective capacity.

5. That the representatives and office-bearers be legally empowered to give effect to the objects of the society, to enforce the performance of agreements implied or expressed, and to report all cases of default.

6. That complaints regarding admission to, or exclusion from, such societies, be heard by the canal authorities.

7. That the "right of passage" be affirmed on behalf both of the state and of private associations, and of individuals.

8. That the land revenue be remitted from land taken up for public canals, but not on land taken up for private canals.

9. That the mode of compensation be established, in the case of the state, by absolute purchase, and in the case of private parties, by payment of fiscal demands and other expenses incident on the land, and of a liberal ground-rent.

10. That the several obligations consequent on the exercise of the "right of passage," relating to the selection of the line, the provision for drainage and roadway, the prevention of leakages, and other objects, be strictly defined.

11. That full opportunity be given to landlords to file objections against the passage.

12. That if any private canal, channel, or water-cuts, should be abandoned, the ground should revert to the original proprietor.

13. That minimum and maximum protective distances be

\_\_\_\_\_ they be accurately defined when including the  
\_\_\_\_\_ adjacent to the public canals.

15. That they be made the means of preventing mutual injury between the employers of water and the projectors of works.

16. That they be rendered applicable to the opening of springs.

#### RELATING TO THE SUPPLY OF WATER.

17. That a general standard and unit of measurement be prescribed.

18. That the use of the standard be enforced on all public canals, and on private channels, at the discretion of the canal authorities.

19. That in private contracts, the terms agreed upon between the parties be enforced, but that doubtful transactions be interpreted by the standard measure.

20. That the general right of cultivators, whose lands are

adjacent to public canals, to obtain water on application, be declared,

21. That if any preferential claims of certain parties over others be allowed, the rule of such preference be published.

22. That mere proximity of land to the canal be not deemed a valid ground of preference.

23. That a preference be conceded to those whose lands may have been taken up for the canal.

24. That, however, generally, priority of application should regulate priority of title.

25. That the above rules be followed in cases of failure of supply, that is, the most recent employer should be the first to be deprived of water.

26. That if under the above necessity water be withheld from any employer, he be entitled to a rateable remission of water-rent.

27. That, however, no such employer be entitled to compensation for capital invested in preparing the land for irrigation, unless the failure has been caused by neglect or misconduct, in which case he can obtain damages by action at law.

28. That the full right and intention of the Government be declared to fix the water-rents in the manner it may think best, and to modify the method of dispensing the water, and of fixing its value from time to time, according as the progress of science, and the circumstances of the period may expedient, excepting so far forth as such matters may have been specially fixed by contract.

29. That in public canals no absolute sale or perpetual grant of the water be permitted.

30. That the contracting of agreements regarding the water for moderate periods, and the registration before the canal authorities of all private contracts of this nature, be encouraged.

31. That the lessee of water (unless there should have been special agreement to the contrary) be empowered to sublet.

32. That no period of prescription, as constituting any right to receive water on certain terms, be legally admitted.

33. That an equitable period for notice of changes, to be given by the canal proprietor to the employer, be prescribed.

34. That the canal authorities be empowered to compel, if necessary, the proprietors of private canals, to lease out their surplus waters.

35. That as regards "horary rotation," precise rules be framed to prevent disputes between the several employers, and also between them and the proprietors.

RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE IRRIGATION SYSTEM.

36. That the canal authorities be authorized to portion out the irrigated districts into administrative divisions, both superior and subordinate, and of various sizes, as may be deemed most expedient.

37. That the general sanatory obligations of every irrigator, in addition to special regulations, be defined.

38. That his compulsory obligations, as regards his share in the repair and maintenance of the works, be also declared.

39. That the general body of irrigators in each division should constitute a conservancy society, for the maintenance of the works, the prevention of fraud and theft, the observance of police and sanatory regulations, and the enforcement of penalties.

40. That the functions of such society may be delegated to regularly appointed office-bearers, whose powers to give effect to the objects of the society, and whose responsibility to the canal authorities for the performance of their duties, should be rigidly defined.

41. That the bye-laws of such societies be framed under the direction of the canal authorities, and registered in their

42. That the full rights and intention of the Government to prohibit particular kinds of cultivation or irrigation, in particular localities, and to impose any other sanatory restrictions, be declared.

43. That the scale of penalties for breach of rule be enhanced, and that punitive provisions against misdemeanors be rendered more stringent than at present.

44. That the fraudulent taking of more water than has been bargained for, be made punishable criminally, and that the abstraction of water from any canal or watercourse be treated as an aggravated theft.

45. That the canal authorities be vested with certain judicial powers, to enable them to adjudicate the various matters indicated in the above rules.

Before taking leave of a book to which we are indebted for much of the information, whereon the foregoing suggestions have been based, we must say a few words on its literary qualities. The arrangement of the subject, and the order of

its compartments, are lucid and complete, so as greatly to aid the memory and facilitate reference. The historical data are full and interesting. The style is clear, facile, fluent,—several passages, such as the summary of the physical peculiarities of Lombardy, or of the advantages of the lake system, evince a power of vivid description and condensed statement. There are inter-spersed many passages of general interest, which we have refrained from noticing, as not pertaining to the purely Italian objects of this article. Such passages are, the description of the revenue survey of Lombardy; of the relations between landlord and tenant; of the meadow irrigation; of the Tuscan Maremma; of the rice cultivation; of the application of canal water to the sewerage of cities. On the whole, the work offers a mass of information, not to be found, we believe, in any other books in the English language, and this too on a subject belonging to a class which receives less attention than it ought, for its intrinsic importance. Which of the many histories that have descanted on the politics of Northern Italy, have described that system of irrigation, without which this most interesting kingdom would be but a poor and insignificant tract? Which of the many travellers that visit the far famed Lagoes of Maggiore, Como or Garda, reflect that their poetical magnificence is more than equalled by their material utility? Lastly, we think, that the perusal of these volumes will tend to raise the reader's estimation of the character and capabilities of the Italian people. They teem with recitals of fortitude, energy, and enterprise. Oftentimes to promote canals, individuals have perilled their whole substance; communes have emptied their coffers; magistracies have superintended the works; the agricultural population have turned out *en masse* to labour night and day; and the whole community have set themselves, with exemplary perseverance, to repair the losses caused by the ravages of plundering armies, and the devastation of invading elements. The Italians themselves point to their canals as one source at least of satisfaction not alloyed by the recollection of failure and humiliation, and not mingled with associations of national misfortune. It would be well for them if those annals on which they so much pride themselves, should inspire them with some rational self-reliance, and some aptitude for self-Government, and thus fulfil what has been eloquently said to be a main object of history, namely, that of “exciting hope in the breast of all patriots.”

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ART. V.—*The Great Cities of the Ancient World, in their Glory and Desolation.* By Theodore Alois Buckley, B. A., of Christ-Church. London, 1852.

THIS is the age of daring enterprises and investigations, and adventurous men are pushing their discoveries in every direction, far beyond the boundaries laid down by their predecessors. The time is not long past, when the burning sands of Africa, and the Polar ice of the north were unexplored regions, which only conveyed to the mind a vague idea of fables and legends. But of late years, the activity of tourists has most alarmingly increased, and the pile of books in our libraries is the best proof of the fact. Nearly all climates and races under the sun have now their historians, and almost every barrier has been thrown down, that till lately obstructed their research. This, therefore, is the time for a stationary traveller to go over the great globe, and to "see the manners and the cities of many men," without moving from his cool veranda, or his warm fire-side.

Amongst so many books of travels as have lately appeared, it is difficult to select one, or any small number, as the subject of comment. Mr. Buckley's subject, however, appears to be peculiarly interesting. We own a special partiality for it. It must be an interesting, though melancholy, occupation,

"To mark of mighty things the narrow grave."

Mr. Buckley, indeed, records not his own travels. But the sketches given are compiled from travellers' books, and other works of authority, and that is enough for our purpose. The task was well chosen, and it has been well executed; and we will take up Mr. Buckley's little work for our "guide, philosopher, and friend."

Our author tells us in his introduction, that his only object in compiling the present volume has been "to trace man where man has worked, and thought best, to read his history in the greatest standing memorial of it; progress, and to make stones tell the sad story of those who laid them." And, this being his only purpose, he has not noticed "all the cities of antiquity," but those merely which were the best representatives of "human progress." In this he has done wisely. "An elaborate and circumstantial history of the ancient world" would have had no interest for the general reader. To the antiquarian and the scholar, a knowledge of every nook and corner of the earth may be of importance, and may afford pleasure. But a



few prominent objects on the great field of the world, are all that ordinary readers care to know about and remember. The ancient world, to the present generation, is a land of mysteries, and men love to list to the history of its glory and desolation, almost with the wondering anxiety of childhood. But it is only the history of grandeur and splendour that have passed away—over which the torrent of time has rolled, and which has almost petrified and become frozen, that mankind long to be acquainted with; and the traces of this grandeur and magnificence are only to be met with among the ruins of great towns and cities.

Thebes, Nineveh, Babylon! to the present generation, what are they? Names! Ah no, they are more than names. They are the great standing memorials with which are wound up all our associations of the days of old. Every fragment of their time-worn fabrics is a chronicle of the gorgeous magnificence and immeasurable might of the generation that has past away. The broken columns of Babylon remind us of "the great city that was a golden cup in the hand of the Lord, that made all the earth drunken;" her waters recall to us visions of the exiles that sat beside them and wept; and ruined fane and desecrated altars, of which shapeless vestiges present such a melancholy picture, bring back to the memory the prophet's terrible denunciation, "Put yourselves in array against Babylon round about; all ye that bend the bow, shoot at her; spare no arrows, for she hath sinned against the Lord." Like her, Nineveh also is invested with a sacred interest, and her magnificent sculptures, and crumbling shapeless monuments, recd to our minds the wailings and lamentations of the prophets, while, through her veil of sorrow, they reveal the unequalled splendour of the days of old. And Thebes, with her hundred gates, the oldest amongst the cities of the earth, with her real and her fabled magnificence, now alike in decay, almost makes us hesitate to believe that the knowledge and mightiness of man hath increased with the lapse of ages.

The antiquity of Thebes is lost in such mythical indistinctness, that it were vain to endeavour to trace it. It was the ancient capital of Egypt, when Egypt was in its glory. But the commencement of Egyptian greatness is not to be unravelled at this hour of the day, and the founder of the city of a hundred gates, though he may have deserved better at the hands of posterity, must be content to remain unknown. Much of its sublime greatness, however, Thebes owed to Sesostris, the embest of the heroes figuring in history. Both fiction and history agree in representing him as a great warrior,

and he is stated to have extended his conquering expeditions far and wide. He conquered many countries, and brought with him innumerable captives; and the supposition is not improbable, that these captives were employed in toiling, by brick and mortar, to exalt and magnify that power which had reduced them to bondage. The colossal ruins, which yet call up visions of a gigantic city, owed their origin, it seems, to the triumphs of a conqueror over the misfortune of vanquished millions.

The ruins of Thebes are of gigantic proportions, and they extend over an area of 140 furlongs in circumference. There is no sound of life at present to be heard amidst the crumbling desolation. Even the beasts of prey walk "the city of the dead," with noiseless footsteps, as if afraid to waken the echo of the tombs; and the wandering Turkoman of the deserts approaches not within their fearful precincts, where multitudes of evil spirits are believed to reside. The voice of the sounding statue of Memnon has long been mute, and silence reigns undisturbed, amid the skeletons of giant temples, that four thousand years before, perchance, rung to the melody of bells consecrated to idolatry. Idolatry provoked Divine judgment, till the city of a hundred gates was reduced to a heap of ruins.

The distant prospect of the ruins of Thebes is said to be comparatively poor. It imparts no adequate idea of their real sublimity. Some centuries ago, the view was not quite so ineffective. But years, many years, have come and gone over the ruins, and the prospect has as surely undergone a change, as the fragments have undergone mutilation, or been buried beneath whirlwinds of sand. The Colossal statue of granite, supposed by some to have been the musical figure of Memnon, by others to have been a representation of Sesostris, is not even mentioned by our author, so much has it lost the prominence that it long enjoyed, as the first object that attracted the notice of the traveller. It requires no notice now. It has had enough already, and is at present no longer prominent enough for more. He gives us a glowing description of the temple of Luxor, and from the irregularity of the building, infers that the whole work was probably not raised at once. The hypothesis is a natural one, and is correct, not only of the temple of Luxor, but of many other ancient edifices. He gives us a still more circumstantial description of the splendid remains of Karnack, which contain several buildings of the largest size, and a hypostole hall, 338 feet long, by 170 broad, having a double row of pillars,

magnificent even in decay. As remarked already, the edifices appear to have been erected in successive ages, and some parts of even the most magnificent structures bear traces of having been formed out of the materials of buildings of still earlier date. It is also plainly to be observed, that though the civil and religious buildings have many features in common, the sculptures on the latter are always sufficiently explanatory, being in every case religious and symbolical.

The decline of Thebes may be traced so far back as the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopians. The Persian conquest, in 526 B. C., under Cambyses, almost completed its destruction. Pliny says, that one of the obelisks so struck the ruthless barbarian with admiration, that he ordered the fire to be quenched, when about to reach it. But, if he did so, his order was not executed, till after much devastation had been effected. The wooden huts of the age spread the flames about and around them, with amazing rapidity, and the largest monuments of human industry, made of granite and other stones, were effectually, if not completely, ruined. What remained after this desecration, was reduced under the Romans, who seem to have freely used the ruins as a stone quarry. At present, the whole site is one large field, strewed with ruins whitening on the desert sands. Colossal blocks of granite, skeletons of giant temples, broken gateways and columns, the wrecks of extraordinary porticoes, are all that remain of the city of a hundred gates, which sent forth its "twice ten thousand" armed chariots against the foe; and they are neither overgrown with moss, nor the weeds of the desert, nor rank grass. Many whole monuments have been buried in the sands, which have blown over and covered them; but what remains unburied, stands "in all the nakedness of desolation," unblackened by weather, and unmantled by the ivy.

Memphis and Heliopolis, the Noph, and the On or Aven of the Scriptures, were also cities of note in ancient Egypt; though not of equal importance with Thebes, the No or No-Ammon of the Bible, the capital of the Empire. Memphis appears to have been chiefly famous for its commercial character; of a certain portion of Egypt it was also considered the capital—that portion we mean, in or near which the Israelites were settled; and of idolatrous stations it was one of the first, being the place where the bull Apis was honored with peculiar veneration. At the present moment, even its site is not certainly known, a few red granite blocks being nearly all that survives of its former wealth and splendour; and these are half hid by a thicket of palm. An immense mass of materials

seems to have been carried off by its various conquerors, and statues also, except those of prodigious size, and yet what remain are worthy of a spectator's admiration. Some of the statues were painted with a varnish that, to this day, after the lapse of perhaps four thousand years, has the appearance of freshness, and, despite of mutilations, the figures of idols display a resemblance to nature, and an accuracy of form and justness of proportions, seldom met with, except in Greece, in the relics of antiquity.

The traces of the site of Heliopolis are still less distinct than those of Memphis. Its name signifies it to have been the city of the Sun; and it was the centre of the worship of the bull Mnevis. For the learning of its priests also, it was very famous, and likewise for the antiquity of its records; but a solitary obelisk, some ruins of sphinxes, a few fragments of mutilated idols, and a light sprinkling of other ruins, are all that remain of the city of the sun. The decline of Heliopolis was owing to the same causes which wrought the downfall of Thebes and Memphis, and the most prominent amongst them was idolatry. The Egyptians, at a very early age, were a civilized and knowing people. Their country was the cradle of the arts and sciences. But they had as early deviated from the worship of God. Their pyramids and columns, and temples and palaces, record the worship of brute creatures and images; and the All-seeing Maker of the universe, ever jealous of His hallowed rights, would not endure the contumely. His tabernacle, the earth, was not to be polluted for ever by the worship of dumb idols, which no more resembled Him, than the ape and the baboon resemble His noblest handiwork, man; and in His mightiness, He stretched forth His hand, and, lo! rock-built palaces, and mighty temples, and towering pyramids, and gigantic monuments, became the graves of those who had reared them, and were surrounded with desolation, the witnesses of man's impiety, and of the vengeance that overtook it.

These thoughts are yet more forcibly impressed, by pondering over the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh, both of which are frequently spoken of in Holy Writ. The first mention of Babylon, in history, is in Genesis, x. 10; and Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord," is there mentioned as its founder. But of the particulars of its antiquity we are comparatively ignorant, for no further notice of it is taken in Scripture, until the time of its connection with the history of the Jews. The character of Nimrod leads us to believe, that originally, it was at best but a community of unprincipled out-casts—an

asylum for the profligate followers of the mighty hunter. Till the days of Nimrod, the marauding progeny of the desert appear to have had no fixed hive. As vagrants, they pursued their work of rapine and plunder, and rested where they could from their labors, till the bold Nimrod thought of collecting together the scattered herd.

When the Bible again speaks of Babylon, it speaks of its wickedness and approaching ruin. During the interval, it had become a great city—the capital of a great empire—the seat of learning and civilization. But all these are passed over by the sacred historian as of no importance to history, for the history of its greatness and civilization was a history of misdeeds and irreverence. Babylon had striven against the Lord. He records that, and that only, for that records the whole detail of its history—that is the only truth about it, necessary for men to know and remember.

Of Babel, the greatest as well as the most antique edifice was the tower. Various reasons have been assigned for its erection. As a refuge against the contingency of another flood, the Babylonians built the pile which they thought would over-top the loftiest rise of water. The vanity of leaving to posterity a monument of their labors and greatness, might also have been an additional incentive. And to worship in high places, if not the real cause, from which resulted the erection of the edifice, was at least its ostensible apology. The worship of the heavenly bodies was then the mythology most generally known, and to approach nearest to those bodies, while rendering them homage, was the natural aspiration of their worshippers; and the country being a flat one, they built the tower. The true God, however, from whom they had apostatized, mocked at the frail efforts of his enemies. The tower was destroyed, and the idolatrous union of nations broken; and to make the confusion complete, he occasioned diversity of languages amongst them, which rendered dispersion impossible to be prevented.

The city, however, was again restored to more than its former splendour, by Belus and Semiramis; and the former was worshipped by the inhabitants as a god. The temple of Belus was erected on the site of the tower, and it was the most interesting work in Babylon for a very long period. Herodotus bears testimony to its magnificence, of which much was still to be seen at his time. The external form of the temple had much of the appearance of a pyramid, like many of the religious edifices in this country, as for instance, the great pagoda at Tanjore; and it had large accommodations within, including a bed-room

for the god, within which, on a costly sofa, a fair virgin nightly awaited him! Much of the furniture was of solid gold, of great weight and value. There was a golden altar, a golden temple, a golden throne, and a golden image of the god.

Besides Belus and Semiramis, Nebuchadnezzar also contributed to the magnificence of Babylon. From him originated the palace and hanging gardens, which were counted among the wonders of the ancient world. Ancient authors seem to differ as to the number of royal palaces; but Herodotus mentions only one, and as he himself saw the ruins as they existed in his days, his account appears to be most deserving of credit. The ruin named *Kasr*, perhaps, marks the site, though it has been doubted if it is not the wreck of some later building. The gardens, says Quintus Curtius, presented at a distance the appearance of a forest growing on its native mountains, and Babylon being a flat country, having no mountainous eminences, the effect of the prospect from a distance must have been very grand. They occupied an extensive area, and were composed of several large terraces, one above another, and the uppermost on a level with the top of the city walls. To water the gardens, there was an aqueduct on the largest terrace, which was replenished from the river by a pump. These were decidedly the most magnificent and marvellous works that Nebuchadnezzar constructed in the way of decorating the city, and we are told that they owed their origin to the same cause, which led to the erection of the Taj Mahal in India. In mourning for his wife Amytis, who, during her living days, had ever retained a fond yearning for the forests and mountains of Media, among which she had been born, a loving husband raised this splendid and wonderful apology for scenery which nature had denied to Babylon. There are others who assert, that it was to please a living, and not in commemoration of a dead wife, that these were erected.

Besides the tower and the palace, with its hanging gardens, the other objects of admiration in Babylon were the walls of the city, pierced at intervals with gates of solid brass, the bridge, the lake, quays, banks, and canals. Of these, the embankments which preserved the city from the inundations of the Euphrates, excited the greatest admiration and wonder of ancient authors. The building of these is attributed principally to Semiramis, but Nebuchadnezzar probably completed their embellishment. We should here remark, that

the edifices of ancient Babylon do not appear to have been as remarkable for the elegance of their design as for the vastness of their dimensions, and the solidity of their fabric was superior to the beauty of their execution. From the position of the ruins, it has also been conjectured, that the buildings were distributed in groups and patches; and these clusters were distant from each other, and but very intricately connected.

If the greatness, beauty, and majesty of Babylon attained their utmost elevation during the time of Nebuchadnezzar, we have also reason to believe that vice, dissipation, and extravagance, had by that period taken deep root in the hearts of the people; for there fell a voice from heaven, and it was told to the king Nebuchadnezzar, that his kingdom was departed from him, for he had forgotten that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and was unduly elated by his majesty and power. The wrath of God was felt by Nebuchadnezzar, and for a time the people acknowledged God's might. But idolatry had gained sure hold on their hearts, and was not to be thrown out. His successors were vicious and profligate princes, and when his grandson, Belshazzar, defiled the sacred vessels of the temple of Jehovah, who was still worshipped in Babylon by the Jews, the cup of wrath was filled to the brim, Belshazzar's days were numbered, and

"The Mede was at his gate,  
The Persian on his throne."

Then was Babylon, the great and the mighty, "the praise of the whole earth," "the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency," overthrown. Her subsequent revolts and struggles against the Persian power only facilitated her ruin, and her palaces, walls, and towers, were stripped, year after year, age after age, till not enough of them remained to screen the beasts of the desert. There is not even a tree growing on the ruins, except one isolated withered trunk, the branches at the top of which are still verdant, and the leaves of which make a rustling and melancholy sound, as if mourning over the surrounding desolation. The natives believe it to have flourished in ancient Babylon, and that it had been preserved by Providence for Ali to tie up his horse to it, as he did after the battle of Hilla! And of the ruins, the Birs Nimrod are all that remain to mark the spot where Babylon stood.

From the capital of the Chaldean Empire, to Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, is an easy stage. There is much affinity also

between the history of the two cities, and tradition assigns the original foundation of both to Nimrod.\* Ninus, however, appears to have been the king to whom Nineveh chiefly owed its primitive power and magnificence, though the recent researches of Layard have sufficiently proved that, for its progress and development, it has been indebted to the zeal of different sovereigns, at different periods of time. The dimensions of the city appear to have been extraordinary. In the Scriptures it is mentioned to be an exceeding great city, of three days' journey, and it occupied a square of about 480 furlongs. The wealth and greatness of the capital were also proportionate. The ruins, as they now stand, are shapeless, and almost inexplicable. Of vast palaces and colossal halls no traces remain, besides heaps of rubbish and stone, within the crevices of which the cormorant and the bittern have made their home. Walls and arches have disappeared from the sites where they stood, and the most attentive examination can scarcely detect there the mark of masonry. And yet enough remains of the vestiges of the past, to attest to the civilization and splendour of the age. The curious and mysterious sculptures on the broken fragments, rough and primitive though they be as specimens of art, prove no mean degree of civilization in the days of old. The zeal of Layard has also disinterred and dragged forth to light, anomalous and symbolical figures of winged bull and lions, and hawk-headed human figures, and sphinxes, which, whatever may be the meaning they were intended to typify, are expressive enough of the oriental splendour of ancient Nineveh; and their vast dimensions convey an almost astounding idea of the size and stateliness of the temples and palaces which they were intended to adorn. The details of ordinary life also are represented in many of the fragments; and traces of delicate workmanship, and minute and elaborate decoration, are often to be observed in the sculptures. The gait, dress and bearing of the Ninevites, their habits and costumes, even their vanity and indolence, may be traced in the tell-tale stones; and every fragment that speaks of desolation and ruin, is also a record of splendour and magnificence passed away.

In her days of greatness, Nineveh rivalled Babylon in splendour and renown. She too had her pleasure grounds and gardens, her palaces and temples; and oriental despotism was as luxurious within her walls as within the emphatically "great city" of the Scriptures. Nor does the parallel stop here.

\* According to the Bible, Asshur went forth out of the land of Shinar, and build-ed Nineveh.



Nineveh rivalled Babylon in idolatry, impiety and wickedness, provoked like judgment, felt like vengeance. Long-suffering and slow to wrath, Jehovah showed mercy on the city in the sending of Jonah, and the Ninevites repented, and God eyed them again with satisfaction. But, as in Babylon, idolatry was too deep-rooted to be entirely weeded out, and vice followed in its wake, and the demon of destruction pursued after her as constant as ever. Nineveh was destroyed by Cyaxares, king of Persia and Media, and Nabopolassar, king of Babylon.

Babylon and Nineveh were both overturned by the Persian power. To show how short lived is man's vanity and greatness, we shall now repair to the ruins of Persepolis, the Chebal Minar, or palace of Forty Pillars, which, though never a seat of the Persian Empire, was one of the greatest cities of the country, and was the burial place of many of its sovereigns. To whom Persepolis owed its foundation, we know not. Cyrus, the regenerator of oriental power and civilization, may have added to the unfinished basis, but he does not appear to have done much for it, and we have reason to believe that its existence dates prior to his reign. Thus much, however, is certain, that the primitive city owed its chief splendour and magnificence to later kings, to Darius the son of Hystaspis, and to the feeble Xerxes, whose contributions to perfecting the Minar, left unfinished by his father, deserve to be remembered in palliation of his weakness as a sovereign, and of his puerile efforts to subdue the freedom of Greece.

The approach to the ruins of the Chebal Minar is very grand, the prominent beauty being in the superb flight of steps leading up to the palace. The ascent is extremely gradual, the steps not exceeding four inches in height. The whole front is covered with sculpture and beautiful decorations. A crowd of interesting objects all at once comes before the eye, and the execution of them appears to have been very beautiful. Standing figures, habited in long robes, some armed with bows and arrows, some with spears and shields, are to be seen; and there are two spirited representations of fights between bulls and lions—combats which, at that age, perhaps, afforded delight to the Persian people. Nor are the pillars themselves objects of less interest. A few only yet stand entire; the rest are in various stages of dilapidation. The shattered bases of some remain, others lie buried under masses of ruins. The height of the columns that stand is sixty feet, and the shafts are finely fluted. The rest of the ruins appertaining to the palace is comprised of undistinguishable hillocks.

But beside the wondrous ruins of the palace, there are tombs at Persepolis which are almost as interesting as the palace itself. The greatest of men leave but a mound of earth to remind posterity of their greatness and power. When their glories are gone, those monuments remain. But they, too, decay in time, and man's vanity is forgotten in the end. The pyramids of Egypt, indeed, have not yet passed away. As testimonies of man's perseverance, they survive. But they answer no longer the object for which they were raised. Who knows whom they entomb?

But the very notion of their being the monumental remains of past heroes and statesmen, gives to these edifices a more than usual interest in the eye of the traveller; and the tombs of Persepolis have never failed to draw within their precincts all who have visited the ruins of the Minar. The original avenues to them, according to Mr. Morier, must have been through subterranean passages, hid in intricate labyrinths, which none but the privileged could have successfully threaded. Their ruins, however, are more freely accessible to the curious traveller. For the most part they are richly decorated with sculpture; one of them, apparently the oldest, appears to have never been finished. The tomb of Cyrus is at a great distance from Persepolis. But no traveller who has visited the one, has neglected to visit the other. It is very simple in its form, and very solid in its structure, and had not man mutilated and injured it with an impious hand, it had, most probably, preserved its original strength and appearance to the present day;—of such solid materials it was made.

From Persepolis, Mr. Buckley leads us to Damascus, to this day a populous and flourishing city. It is frequently mentioned in the Scriptures, and was well-known in the days of Abraham. The origin of it, however, it is not possible to trace. Its days of greatest glory were those of Benhadad II., king of Syria, who gathered all his host together, and went up and besieged Samaria, and warred against it. The Bible informs us, that in this campaign, Benhadad was accompanied by thirty-two kings, and when, in addition to this circumstance, we mention that Damascus was then the capital of Syria, its might and glory will be easily understood. But after all, Benhadad was an idolater; the Syrians called Jehovah the God of the hills, but denied that He was God of the valleys, or capable of defending his chosen people on the plains; and the Lord of the hills and valleys resented the impiety, and the king of Damascus and his men were compelled to flee for their lives.

We now turn over a new page in the history of It very shortly after ceases altogether to figure as an independent kingdom, and becomes, by turns, tributary to the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman powers. At the time of Darius, it was the royal treasury of the Persian Empire, and then it fell into the hands of Alexander, after the battle of Issus, and after his death, formed a part of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, till it finally passed to the Romans. Under the Syro-Macedonian dynasties, and the Romans, it was the capital of Cœle-Syria. As a Roman Province, it is constantly referred to in the New Testament, and is the scene of Paul's humiliation and conversion, and of the first spreading forth of Christianity among the Gentile world. It was a considerable city also under the Saracen Caliphs, and was the residence of the Omniades; and it still flourishes as a living city—being the capital of a *Pashalic*, and the second in importance in all Syria.

Damascus stands in the midst of an immense plain, celebrated for its picturesque effect and beauty, which is much heightened by the circumstance of its being nearly surrounded (it is so surrounded on three sides,) by naked and dreary hills. The city rises, as if out of the heart of a forest of tall palm and cypress trees, and its domes and minarets stand in beautiful contrast to the beauties of nature. It is seven miles in circumference, and is intersected by four or five small rivers. There are many noble mosques and fine edifices in it, and there are fountains in every part of the city, and almost in every house, supplied by running streams, which traverse the town in every direction. The population has been estimated by some at 4,00,000 souls, though, probably, it is less by half. Provisions are so fine and so cheap, that Carne says, that it is "no place to perform penance in;" and the orchards and gardens bloom with the finest fruits and flowers.

The streets of the desert-girt metropolis are thronged with representatives from all parts of the world. The condition of the Christians is not quite so easy as might be wished, though much of prejudice and bigotry has softened down of late. Under the Egyptians, they had toleration and protection. But the Turks are more stubborn in their bigotry and hate, and deride the Christian name. The applauding welcome, however, that Lady Hester Stanhope received, when passing through the streets and bazars of the city, proves that their abhorrence of infidels is not insuperable. The inhabitants have also very filthy habits, like oriental nations generally, and the interior portions of the town, by their

uncleanliness, form a sad contrast to the outward beauty of it. The excess of filth in some countries originates from want of water. But, as we have said before, in Damascus, almost every house has a fountain, and yet it is one of the filthiest cities in all Asia. The Jews' quarter particularly, is peculiarly offensive to the organs of smell and sight, though in number the Jews are only about 1,000 men. There is also a hospital for lepers, where patients from fifty miles round are compelled by the authorities to reside, not to receive medical treatment, but to rot. And this increases the uncleanliness of the place. Christian civilization even now could do much for this ancient city, and we verily believe that God has spared it from the usual curse of idolatry,—destruction and desolation,—that the site from whence Christianity was first preached to the Gentile world, might, in time, be one of His holiest temples.

We were not near the poet of *Lulla Rookh*, when he sent his Peri winging over the vale of Balbec, to see such a pretty sight, as a child at play,

“ Among the rosy wild-flowers singing,  
As rosy and as wild as they,  
Chasing, with eager hands and eyes,  
The beautiful blue damsel flies,  
That fluttered round the jasmine stems,  
Like winged-flowers or flying gems :”—

otherwise we would have taken the celestial wanderer for our guide over “sainted Lebanon,” instead of the very accurate, but withal, somewhat prosy Mr. Buckley. The poet has given us such a rich picture of “all the enchanted regions there,” calling up even “gay lizards” to glitter on the walls of ruined shrines, and showing us

s, shining streams, with ranks  
Of golden melons on their banks, &c., &c.”

That we find it difficult to relish the plain narrative of the Bachelor of Arts; and yet sooth to say, some obstinate inward monitor, that will take no denial, insists on our trusting to a guide who writes in solid prose, in preference to one who, mounted on “his hot steed,” capers too recklessly for truth.

The city of Baalbeck is now completely in ruins. The name signifies, in the Syrian tongue, the city of Baal, the sun; and the site appears to have been one of the earliest dedicated to the Sabeian mythology. The history of the ruins, however, is very unsatisfactory. We have scarcely any information about them. The magnificent remains that yet survive the ravages of time, attest the greatness and

luxury of the ancient city. But we are left completely in the dark about the date of their erection, and the men who raised them. Traces are to be seen of many structures of great antiquity having been restored and altered at subsequent epochs of their greatness; but when this was done, and what nation did it, we can only guess,—and guess, too, in the dark, having no data to go by. In the way of restoration something may have been done by the Romans, but certainly not much.

Of the ruins, the objects most familiar to the eye of the traveller are immense quantities of hewn stone, and fragments of pillars scattered about in all directions. But these are by no means the most prominent memorials on the spot; for the remains of the temples still preserve a majestic and proud appearance. Corinthian pillars of pompous size formed the colonnades of the temples, and their architectural beauty was so pre-eminent, that, even at the present day, in their mutilated condition, the eye is never satisfied with gazing at them. The designs also appear to have been on the boldest plan, striking the mind with an air of greatness seldom felt while looking at like specimens of modern art. Perhaps the vigor and vastness of the original conception has, in some cases, suffered from the workmanship of a later age. The labors of different ages is palpably blended in many of the remains extant. But the effect of the whole is bold and sublime.

The vicissitudes which reduced such splendid memorials of the past, cannot now be historically traced. We have as little light to guide us in the enquiry about the decline of Baalbeck, as in investigating its rise and importance. Its history is a mass of confusion, vague, and indefinite, and not to be unravelled. The promulgation of Islamism, however, evidently completed the work of desolation, the ignorant bigotry of the followers of Mohammed ever delighting in pillage, destruction, and massacre. And so completely has desolation wasted the soil, that even the fruitfulness of nature has now deserted the spot, and neither "golden melons," nor roses, nor pomegranates, though conjured up by the poet's fancy, are there abundant.

Baalbeck is a magnificent sight, when viewed beneath the setting sun. So is Palmyra at sunrise, according to the enthusiastic Lord Lindsay. If the architecture of Baalbeck is superior to that of the ancient Tadmor, the grandeur of the general effect of the ruins of the latter city has, especially by earlier travellers, been often preferred. Some recent visitors, however, have considered its position rather unfavorable to the

effect of its beauty. It is situated at the foot of lofty mountains, and their natural sublimity and elevation place the works of art in a disadvantageous contrast. If the city had been on the summit of the hills, it would have had a more imposing appearance; but, as it is, it suffers instead of gaining by its position. Yet, in spite of such drawback, the ruins of Palmyra still astonish the traveller. The palm trees are not so abundant now on the site, as they must have been when it got its Grecian name. But they are still to be found in the gardens which environ the ruins, and are gladdening beacons to the weary traveller, assuring him of fresh water and green shade; and the city of palms owes much of its interest to the trees which shade and enliven it.

Solomon founded Palmyra, otherwise called Tadmor, Thadmor, or Tamar. He raised it to be one of the main stations of the commerce he so successfully prosecuted, and it was frequented in his time by caravans from all the leading cities of the East. Its position facilitated its grandeur. The caravans from Persia and India, and other remote countries to the East, found it the most convenient resort to unload their wares; and merchants from the West also found it to be the best market to dispose of their commodities. And thus it soon became the chief mart of the commerce carried on by land. But traffic changes its routes, and in time, Tadmor ceased to be resorted to by caravans. Even so early as the reign of Trajan, Palmyra was become a waste. It was rebuilt by Adrian, being renowned for its fine climate; but the chief source of its greatness had passed away. Under Caracalla it obtained the privilege of a Roman colony. It again became independent under Odenatus, when the Roman power declined; and his widow, Zenobia, made it the capital of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire, which she conquered and took. Of this extraordinary woman, Aurelian, the greatest general of his age, has said, that she was "prudent in council, firm in her character, wise in her conduct towards the army, liberal when occasion called for it, stern when severity was required:" and that "the whole people of the East and of Egypt so dreaded her displeasure, that neither Arabs, Saracens, nor Armenians, dared to move," so as to offend her.\* But the Amazon queen was in her turn vanquished by the Roman general, and led in triumph to Rome, and Palmyra, rebuilt by a Roman, was destroyed by Roman hands. Subsequent Emperors contributed a little to its restoration

\* In more recent times, Lady Hester Stanhope was crowned queen of Palmyra by the Bedouins.

again. But, in 744, A. D., it fell into the hands of the Moslems, under Caliph Merwan, and was savagely dealt with. What work of destruction remained undone, was finally completed by the army of Timur, A. D. 1400.

The ruins of Palmyra stand in the midst of a desert of sand, sheltered by mountains to the west and north, but towards the other two cardinal points, the prospect is only bounded by the horizon. Seen from a great distance, the view tells with striking effect. Corinthian columns of white marble present the appearance of a forest from afar; and numerous square tombs look like so many temples of quaint but interesting form. These, however, are the remains of comparatively later times. The tombs might possibly be the relics of older days than the Roman era,—they may be the monuments of the ancient Palmyrenes. But they are not vestiges of the days of Solomon, and than they there are no older remains extant. Of the works of modern times, the remains are many, and they are chiefly characterized by astonishing vastness of materials. Stones of enormous size appear to have been used in most of the buildings, and there are ceilings yet to be seen, made of one single slab. And the fragments of architecture are so numerous, that were the theory advanced that all the people lived in palaces, it would not be easy to gainsay the dogma. There is also a fountain remaining, said to be one of five that graced the ancient city. It is a sulphureous spring, and believed by the people of the country to have extraordinary medicinal virtues.

As Palmyra was the chief mart of the land trade in the days of Solomon, so Tyre was the chief mart for the commerce then carried on by sea. It was a great city in those times. We read that David, the father of Solomon, went to Hiram, king of Tyre, to ask for help in rearing the temple of the Lord; and the burden of Ezekiel's lamentation shows that the ancient Tyrians had reached a very advanced stage of civilization. But civilization was pushed to an extreme extent in Tyre. Her riches and her fairs; her merchandise, her mariners, and her pilots; her silver, iron, tin and lead; her ivory and her gold; the honey, the oil, and the balm; spices and precious stones, and rich apparels of purple and of blue, had created new sources of gratification for the eager mind of man, and enervated civilization into luxury. And the city that had said, "I am of perfect beauty," before the thrones of whose elders the nations of the whole earth displayed their treasures, fell by its Capuan indulgences. One corruption begat another. The true and only God was desert-

ed for senseless idols—the cunning workmanship of human hands; and then the cup of wrath was filled, and conqueror after conqueror arose, the appointed ministers of vengeance, to punish the impiety.

The first to chastise the presumptuous glory of Tyre, was Nebuchadnezzar, who, unable to get at the wealth of the Tyrians, razed, in his anger, the whole town to the ground, and slew all the inhabitants who failed to effect their flight. The city thus destroyed, never recovered its glory; and the site is named “Old Tyre,” in contradistinction to the “New Tyre,” which the enterprising spirit and perseverance of the Tyrians raised instead. The new city had a long era of peace to form its greatness and renown. Till the age of Alexander the Great, there does not appear to have been any potent enemy to molest its rising dignity, and when the mad Macedonian appeared before its walls, it was again the greatest of Syro-Phœnician cities. After a tedious siege of seven months, however, it was compelled to yield to the perseverance of the Greeks, and it was then that the ruins of Old Tyre, as much as had survived till then, were cast into the sea, that the prophecy might be fulfilled, “they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the water, and thou shalt be no more; though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again,” and, verily, the exact site of the old city cannot now be determined.

The next invader of New Tyre was Antigonus; but he effected nothing, and the Tyrians enjoyed peace till the age of the Crusades. But the glory of Tyre was gone; for the rivalry of Alexandria had eclipsed its commercial importance. A harder doom, however, awaited it yet. The word of God had passed that it should be a place for fishers to dry their nets on. During the Crusades, it was several times beleaguered, and, in 1291, it was compelled to yield to the Muhammedans, who utterly demolished its splendid fortifications. The most remarkable ruins now are the two ports of the city. The moles which formed them have been much washed off by the sea, and the towers which flanked them have almost entirely tumbled down. And its present inhabitants are only a few poor fishermen, the witnesses of the fulfilment of the prophecy. Broken walls, pillars and vaults, are also to be met with heaped together, but not a house is to be seen contradicting the dread decree, “thou shalt be built no more.”

From Tyre Mr. Buckley conducts us to the ruins of Petra,



the capital of Arabia Petrea. When Jacob, by the interposition of heaven, supplanted his brother Esau in his birth-right, the latter, who had principally offended his Maker by his marriage with the Canaanites, went into the country from the face of his brother, and took shelter in the district of Mount Seir; and there his descendants, the Edomites, extirpating the ancient inhabitants, made their caverned dwellings their home. We have every reason to believe that, at a very early age, the spirited Edomites cut the solid rocks into architectural figures, and erected the palaces, of which we have yet such sublime remains; and the city of the rock very soon became a monument of their pride and glory. The hardy and independent descendants of Esau, restless, wild and energetic, were to be discouraged by no amount of labour; and the excavations in the rocks testify to this day, to the wondrous toils they bore, and also to an amazing progress in civilization. But the fiat had gone forth, that the elder should serve the younger. No amount of glory or power could recall it. "O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill, though thou should make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence." The fraternal feud among the descendants of the brothers would not cease, and eventually Amaziah, the descendant of Jacob, gained by conquest the possession of Petra.

In the reign of the Emperor Trajan, Arabia Petrea became a province of the Roman Empire; and under the Romans the original structures of the Edomites received some restoration, and even embellishment. But these are easily distinguishable from the rest. The modifications and alterations of different ages are correctly indicated by the different character of the sculpture, and even where the elucidation of the several orders mixed up is difficult, it cannot be said to be impossible.

What contributes most to the magical effect of the ruins of Petra, is the rich and various color of the rocks. They are of all kinds, and blended so as to form every shade and hue that we admire in the plumage of birds or in flowers. Besides this, the architectural designs that embellish the fronts of the buildings, are peculiarly sumptuous and attractive. Taste and skill appear to have been tasked to their utmost capabilities in working out these decorations. The interior of the buildings is for the most part quite plain and destitute of ornaments, but they are not necessarily wanting in beauty and effect; and the palace, the temple, and the tomb, have all the same character. They partake alike also in the extent of their desolation. "Edom shall be a desolation," has been verified, and the moun-

tains of Esau, and his heritage, have now become the home of the dragons of the wilderness.

From Petra to the caves of Ellora is a rather long leap; but we do not quarrel with Mr. Buckley's arrangement, which, from the rocky city of Arabia, leads us at once to the rock-hewn temples of India. If the latter are not as ancient as the caverns of Esau and his descendants, their antiquity is still very remote; and as architectural remains, though very deficient in regularity, and very poor in proportions, they are not altogether despicable proofs of the perseverance and art of former generations. The grotesque figures of the Hindu deities sufficiently explain why these gigantic excavations were made. As in Egypt and Assyria, a false belief exacted these hard tributes from the labor of man; and the ruins of Ellora and Salsette, read aright, teach the same edifying lessons of morality as those of Thebes, Babylon and Nineveh. In the cause of a false religion were raised the mighty edifices which surprise us so much by the grandeur of their dimensions; and their present state of silence and desolation sufficiently explains the destiny, present and to come, of the religion they were designed to honor. The symbols of Buddhism survive, but to show that Indian Buddhism is no more; and Brahminism too, we would fain believe, is fast flying out of the land, repelled by the wholesome influence of a purer creed.

The history of the cave-temples in India is altogether unknown, every portion of ancient Indian history being lost in obscurity and darkness; but the remains which exist, clearly attest the ancient splendour and influence of the religion of Budh. The excavations for the most part have a very imposing character. The darkness of the interior, the gloomy appearance of the gigantic rocks and rocky figures, the massiveness of the pillars, even the superincumbent appearance of the solid rock, give the whole assemblage of structures an air of greatness and awe. This description is true, as well of Elephanta and Salsette, as of Ellora. Ellora, however, has by far the most numerous excavations, and the construction of its subterranean edifices displays to the greatest advantage the skill of Indian artists. They are, however, now all alike deserted and abandoned—all alike hushed in desolation;—all alike crumbling into ruins; nor are there any prospects for them of better days to come, unless, as suggested by Bishop Heber, the largest of the Budhist temples should be converted into a place of Christian worship.

Mr. Buckley did not find anything to detain him in India after his visit to Ellora. But among the ancient cities of the

world, Benares deserves a place, and shall have it in our pages. It is the holiest of all the cities in Hindustan, and is reputed to have been founded by its patron deity, Mahadeva. It is likewise accounted to be the nearest road to heaven. Of its ancient history we have no records. Mythology traces its origin from the remotest ages; and it is regarded as the birth-place of the gods, and the abode of super-human sages; and its narrow streets and curious lofty buildings give it a mysterious and unusual aspect, much in confirmation of its pretensions to antiquity. The city is in the shape of a half moon, with its inner curve on the river side; and its suburbs are of considerable extent. The houses are generally four, five, or six stories high, and they are large buildings, but the rooms are unventilated, and insufferably close. The temples and mosques are worthier specimens of architecture, and present a splendid panorama to the view. The spires and domes of the temple rise above the terraces of the highest houses, and the minarets of the mosques are higher still. Especially the great mosque built by Aurungzebe, shoots its minarets far into the sky; and, though not the largest, it is assuredly the most prominent object in the city. It is said to have been erected on the site of a magnificent Hindu temple, destroyed by the intolerant Emperor for the purpose of humiliating the Brahmans. On the river side, the *ghats*, descending from the top of the high bank to the bed of the river, are also noble structures. They are many of them of solid masonry, and all generally pleasing to the eye. On account of them, especially, the view of the city from the opposite bank is a good one, but that from the minarets of the great mosque is, perhaps, still more magnificent.

Of the idolatry prevalent in Benares, we need not here say much. It has been remarked, and we believe correctly, that the images of the gods worshipped are more numerous than the living human inhabitants of the city, and yet Benares is a very populous city. These images are mostly of Mahadeva, who is not unfrequently represented by that most abominable of all representations, the *Argha*, or the conjunction of the Lingam and the Yoni; and these are to be seen, not only in the temples, but in private houses and gardens, and at the corners and by the sides of streets and thoroughfares. After this, it is unnecessary to add that the city has little real holiness about it. On the contrary, it is one of the most wicked places in India, swarming with courtezans and sinners of every description, and we fear that the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah is impending over it, and will overtake it, unless timely averted by the triumph of truth.

Mr. Buckley's omission to notice Benares among the ancient cities of the world, after all, is fully justifiable, for the memorials of human progress are very scanty in this ancient city. Few buildings of very ancient date are to be seen at present, though, in a large portion of the materials of which the more modern buildings are composed, it is not impossible to trace marks of great antiquity. Many of the commonest buildings for instance, are composed of stones richly carved, and of varying ornamental characters. Here it is evident that fragments of more splendid edifices have been applied to other purposes since their destruction. Towards the north-east of the city, traces of some ruins are also to be seen, the ground for miles being strewn with fragments of bricks and stones, and several mounds of various kinds and sizes; and from these relics of Buddhism have been frequently dug out. But of the history of these ruins we know absolutely nothing. The name of *Kashi* occurs frequently in the Hindu *Shastras*, but those legendary annals merely afford light sufficient to make the darkness visible. From the *Purans* we learn that *Kashi* existed before those *Purans* were written; but we learn nothing more. If we could get an authentic history of Benares, it would much elucidate, we think, the gradual progress of Hinduism.

From India we go to China, and to the most northern part of it, there to visit Peking, the capital of the Chinese Empire. Though an ancient city, Peking survives in all its glory; and is the metropolis of a third of the human race, if the estimates be correct, by which the population of the globe is set down to be 900,000,000 souls and that of China 300,000,000. Nankin was originally the chief city of China, but, in very early times, the troublesome Tartars, or rather the Huns, rendered the removal of the court to the frontiers of the kingdom necessary, and from that time Peking, from a village state, rose into significance. The present city is described to be divided into three parts, enclosed one within another, and surrounded by their respective walls. Of these, the first and innermost enclosure is by far the most important and grand, and contains the palaces of the king, and the courts of the royal family. All the palaces are superb. Where the style of art appears rather unnatural, and this we fancy is a frequent case, the Chinese having a very fantastical and grotesque method of their own in every thing, the elaborateness of the workmanship almost invariably makes up for the whimsical character of the design. Within this enclosure there is also a magnificent flower garden, called the "Earth's Repose," where the queen delights to take her stroll.

The second enclosure is the residence of the officers of the court and of the greater merchants; and the third is occupied by Chinese shop-keepers and tradesmen, and all the lower orders of society; and the change of localities is forbidden. The first enclosure is named "The Forbidden City," and, as a place of residence, it is forbidden to all but the royal family. The second and third are not so rigidly guarded, but the Mandarins take good care that they are not huddled up with the mob. The population of the capital is so great, that even the widest streets are always scenes of bustle and confusion. It is estimated by the latest reckoning at 300,000 souls, and these, with their horses, mules, chairs and waggons, enliven the city day by day, as if some unusual show had drawn in the whole country around. One would expect that streets in which there was so much perpetual animation would be kept clean; but cleanliness is not an oriental virtue, and they are full of dirt and dust.

Pekin is both an ancient and a modern city, and it has both ancient and modern edifices in it. Of its antiquities, however, Mr. Buckley does not say much, nor have we any information to enable us to make up for his short-coming. The fact is, in the course of time, they have all undergone modern improvement, and the only piece of architecture that yet retains an old appearance, is the Great Wall, accounted among the wonders of the earth. The private houses are all mean and poor looking, and very few of them are two-storied. They are neither models of architecture, nor good specimens of it; and there is no vestige to show that greater progress towards individual comfort had been made there in the good old times.

From Peking, as if for the purpose of setting at defiance all conjecture as to the principle of his arrangement, Mr. Buckley conducts us to Jerusalem. Even before the reign of David, Jerusalem was an important city. It was David, however, who increased its consequence by selecting it as the capital of Judah and the seat of his glory; and he commenced preparations for building the house of God in it, which was left to Solomon actually to build. The successors of Solomon were not all pious princes. Rehoboam even evinced a tendency to idolatry, and the consequence was that Shishak, king of Egypt, conquered the city and despoiled the temple. The fate of Jerusalem was no better under succeeding princes. Some of them, indeed, endeavoured to repair the havoc it had suffered, but the people had grown sinful, indolent, and profligate—they had forgotten their God: and Nebuchadnezzar completed, with fire and sword, what the king of Egypt had begun—the destruction

of the city. Still disposed to mercy, the Lord turned an eye of compassion on fallen Jerusalem. A new temple, and a new city, were erected, and, though these did not reach all the splendour of times past, dreams of future glory elated once more the minds of the Jews. But Ptolemy took Jerusalem by surprise, and dispelled these anticipations for a time; and under the Egyptian rule the design of amalgamating the Jewish religion with the belief of the Pagans had well nigh ruined the city, a fate which was only prevented by the devotion of Judas and his followers. The temple was re-taken by the Jews, and repaired and purified, (a statue of Jupiter having been set up in it for a while,) and the worship of God was restored.

In 63 B. C., Pompey again surprised the city of the Jews, and on that occasion its walls were demolished. Crassus, B. C. 51, followed at the heels of Pompey, and pillaged even the sanctuary, which the other had spared. In 43 B. C., however, Antipater rebuilt the broken walls, and during the reign of his son Herod, the city was much strengthened and enlarged. The old temple was pulled down, and a magnificent new one erected on the site, and other splendid improvements were made, such as fully justified the remark of Pliny, that, at this period, Jerusalem was by far the most splendid city, not of Judea only, but of the whole east. But this prosperous morning was destined to end in gloom. The city was captured by Titus A. D. 70. The immediate cause of the capture was the rebellion of the Jews against the Roman power. The oppression of the Roman governors, added to the overt insults of the emperors to their religion,\* drove the Hebrew people to desperation. They betook themselves to arms, and were worsted. The cruelty of the Romans then expelled them from their homes, and, when they attempted, with native stubbornness, to regain possession of them, the last remnants of the race were expelled from the city, and it was made death for them to approach it.

Two hundred years after these events, Helena, the mother of Constantine, visited the ruins of Jerusalem, and on the supposed site of the nativity at Bethlehem, built some churches; and, after her, Constantine also built a magnificent church on the site of the Holy Sepulchre. In A. D. 527, Justinian also built a magnificent chapel upon Mount Moriah, in honor of the Virgin. But in the mean time, the Roman name and Roman greatness had passed away. The Goths and the Vandals

\* The Emperor Caligula went so far as to order his statue to be set up in the temple of God.

had triumphed over the glory of Rome—rude barbarism had over-ridden corrupted civilization. The Roman possession of Jerusalem therefore had ended, and the Persians, and after them the Arabians, had become masters of the Holy City. The cruelties they inflicted on the pious pilgrims from the West, led, at a subsequent period, to the Crusades, of which it would exceed our purpose here to speak. For all the blood that was shed, for all the money that was wasted in those obstinate and much prolonged conflicts, Jerusalem, up to this day, is in the hands of unbelievers.

Of the ruins of ancient Jerusalem not even a trace survives. The appearance of the city from a distance is exceedingly desolate. For several miles around the mountains are bare, steep and rocky, presenting an uniformly deserted appearance; and the city stands as if cut off from the world in solitude. Within the city there is hardly a stone now which could be pointed out as having belonged to those structures, which are alluded to by the inspired historian. Even the foundations are broken up, and every fragment has been swept away. The ruins which now accost the traveller, are all of comparatively modern date. Here a Roman tower is to be seen erected on massive Jewish architecture; there a Turkish mosque raised on Hebrew foundations; but even the Jewish portion of such remains evidently belonged not to the ancient city. The fragments of Roman architecture are many. Some handsome remains of Saracenic splendour are also to be met with. But Judah has been cast down completely, for there is not even a vestige of her ancient glory.

Mr. Buckley next devotes four pages to Smyrna. We fear we can hardly afford it more than one paragraph. We have no authentic history of its antiquity, nor any hold to help our groping in the dark. Tantalus, the son of Jove, is said to have been its founder: but as Tantalus, after all, is but a fabulous character, this adds not much to our knowledge of it. The Lydians laid it waste and desolate so early as the time of Alexander the Great; but it was subsequently rebuilt, and, under the Romans, appears to have been regarded as one of the finest cities of the East. In A. D. 177 it was again destroyed by an earthquake, and though it was rebuilt by Marcus Aurelius, on a splendid scale, it never regained its ancient importance and prosperity. For this city the convulsions of nature wrought more mischief than the ravages of man. Except the stadium, the theatre, and the temple of Jupiter Acræus, of its ancient structures survive, nor are even their  
 1; and yet, in its days of glory, it

was pronounced to be "the lovely, the crown of Ionia, the ornament of Asia;" and its lofty Acropolis was crowded with specimens of art, which have certainly not yet been equalled in modern times. Its temples and tombs, villas and baths, also, were edifices of great taste and grandeur; but they have all given place now to Mohammedan mosques and minarets.

And now to Ephesus, the city of the Amazons, more celebrated still for its temple of that Amazonian goddess, Diana, whose worship was here celebrated, up to a very late period, with peculiar pomp and magnificence. The temple of Diana was burnt down on the night that Alexander was born. Alexander afterwards offered to rebuild the edifice, on the condition of being permitted to inscribe his name on the front; but this the inhabitants indignantly refused, and at their own expense erected a structure, which occupied 220 years in building, and the magnificence of which fully equalled, if it did not surpass, that of the temple which had been burnt down.

Besides the temple of Diana, Apelles and Parrhasius, also, have, by their birth, contributed to the celebrity of Ephesus. Ephesus will also be long remembered as one of the nurseries of Christianity, though the fulness it had there attained in the days of the Apostles has long passed away. The temple of Diana was burnt down by the Goths. The shout, "Great is Lord Jesus," then succeeded the well known ancient roar, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." But the altar of Jesus was again, in its turn, overthrown—the Cross gave place to the Crescent—and now the Crescent also has passed away. The Pagan splendour of the city, its Christian mightiness, its brief Mohammedan glory, have all departed. It is now a heap of desolation, and wilderness. Mounds of stones and untenanted mud cottages are all that are now to be seen on the site of the great city, and a few straggling peasants are its only inhabitants.

Sardis was the capital of Cræsus, king of Lydia, whose very name has become a word for riches and magnificence. It was this Cræsus who asked Solon if he did not consider him fully happy; and the memorable reply of the sage has been deservedly remembered to the present times—"Await the end of life," said the philosopher, "before you judge of its good fortune;" and the most marvellous and melancholy illustration of the saying is to be read in the present condition of that impregnable city, the prosperity of which had roused the haughtiness of its king. Cræsus felt the truth of Solon's remark before he died. His life was not fortunate. Cyrus the Mede attacked and defeated him; and he became a prisoner and a servant, who



had considered himself, a little while before, the greatest and happiest of sovereigns. Sardis, after this, became a Persian city; and the gradual introduction of Persian manners soon, step by step, introduced the various stages of Oriental degradation. It was recovered again to Greek interest by the Ionians under Aristogoras; but it had declined from its rank and importance, and after its subsequent destruction by fire, its history becomes altogether void of interest. When Alexander knocked at the gates of Sardis, it yielded to him without a blow; and again, when the Romans triumphed over Antiochus, it as easily became subject to the Roman power.

The ancient spirit of the Lydians had gone, and the beauty of their palatial city had likewise departed. We have seen that it was once reduced by fire; subsequently an earthquake completed its ruin. At the time of the Emperor Tiberius, however, it was rebuilt, and many of the interesting relics of the ancient city were sought after and restored. It is on this account, that to this day some little vestiges of the gorgeous palace of Croesus are still to be seen. These consist only of a few rent walls, poor fragments of a haughty structure. Two columns, and a few mutilated fragments, only represent the beautiful and glorious temple of Cybele, once the pride of the splendid city; and green and flowery swards are on the sites of ancient theatres and crowded habitations.

Athens, the wondrous city of Athene, shall next receive our attention; but it has been so often written of and described in volumes of history and criticism, that a long and detailed sketch of it here is not called for. The history of Athens, as Mr. Buckley well observes, is the history of all Greece—nay, of the whole world, he adds, during a certain period. And how can we possibly epitomize that history in an article of a few pages? Far less can we dwell on the difficulties and obscurities of her early poetical history.

Athens was founded by Theseus—at least it was in his reign that Attica was properly consolidated, and its capital became a city of note and fame. It had a monarchical form of Government till the time of Codrus, who, sacrificing his life for the good of his country, in a war with the Dorians, the kingly power ceased, and the throne remained vacant.

Under the aristocratic oligarchy that succeeded, the city made considerable improvement. At first the severe laws of Draco, indeed, did little good, but Solon soon gave the state better regulations, such as were well calculated to ameliorate the condition of a rising people. After the death of Solon,

Pisistratus, taking advantage of the stupidity of the mob, seized the absolute power. But though the Athenians submitted to his tyranny, his sons were not permitted to perpetuate it, and Athens was once more on the road to glory. The battle of Marathon is well known; then followed those of Salamis and Plataea, and they gave a new impulse to the energies of Greece.

When she turned the tide of the Persian war, Athens had reached the acme of her glory. After that, she began to abuse her mighty powers. The strength that had saved Greece, began to be turned to acts of oppression and tyranny. Other states had learnt from her the value of spirit and independence, and they combined against her, as against a common enemy. She maintained her power as long as she could. But at last her downfall came; and the crafty Philip of Macedon, now that the lioness was in her toils, succeeded to pull down the other states of Greece also along with her.

Athens stands on a rocky plain, enclosed by mountains on three sides, and bounded on the fourth by the sea. Even in its days of glory it possessed few fine streets, and the dwellings of private citizens were built of very simple and inexpensive materials, and had no architectural magnificence to boast of. All the splendour of the city was in its public edifices, in the Acropolis or citadel, the temples, the museum, and the public squares. The Acropolis was, as it were, the centre of the public buildings. It must have been in a very noble style of architecture, for it has been a favourite school of imitation to the architects and sculptors of modern times. The temples, also, were in a grand and splendid style, their columns of noble proportions, and the friezes decorated with varied devices relating to heroes and gods. Unlike the temples dedicated to similar idolatry in Oriental countries, these bore, even on their gross material development, a refined and poetical character, an impress of the minds to whom they owed their origin. The Athenians were certainly the most poetical people in Greece, and their artists the most poetical in the world. All these masters were in the employ of the public; and hence the peculiar beauty of the public buildings and decorations. The works of art were considered to be common property, and this, at the same time that it served to beautify public edifices by the entire application of a multitude of hands, also contributed to render those hands, exerting themselves for a nation, more perfect in their toil, by allying glory with gold. The money which paid their labors was collected by contribution, and vast funds thus realized were at the disposal of the state. Owing to these causes mainly was Athens so full of public buildings, especially shrines and temples.

Although Achaia was one of the smallest states in Greece, yet Corinth, its capital, may be named immediately after Athens, as having been a very wealthy and powerful city in its day. As a fortress, it was, perhaps, the strongest in all Greece; and its geographical position on an isthmus, with two harbours on two sides, gave it much commercial consequence. It commanded alike the Aegean and Ionian seas, and in those days navigators dreaded to weather the western promontory of Malea. The traffic from Asia to Italy, and from Italy to Asia, was therefore necessarily conveyed across land, through Corinth, from sea to sea; and this to the city was a source of great gain. Even in the days of Homer it was, under its ancient name of Ephyre, considered opulent; and its public works appear to have always been on a scale of grandeur and beauty.

The origin of Corinth is involved in mythic obscurity, but even in mythical days it was famous, and many great names, such as those of Sisyphus and Bellerophon, are mentioned as those of its sovereigns. But we do not wish to get entangled in its history, mythical or modern, and will therefore steer clear of both. At the time of the Peloponnesian war, Corinth was at the height of its glory. It was the most important enemy of Athens. But it soon after began to decline. The power of Athens being humbled, the Grecian states fell on each other, and effectually disabled themselves. Its final degradation, however, was not completed, till it fell into the hands of the Romans, when the male inhabitants were put to the sword, the women and children sold as captives, and the city ruined and desolated with a barbarity seldom surpassed.

Corinth revived again, but only as a seat of the Roman Government. Its Grecian character had passed away. What the Romans did for it was again undone by the Turks, and at present it is all in ruins. The remains of antiquity are of course very slender, and their precise date is only a subject of conjecture. On the remains of the ancient temple of Venus now stands a mosque, and there were other like Turkish restorations, which have gone into ruins.

We next proceed to Elis, the holy land of the Greeks. Armies were compelled to lay down their arms when passing through this favored region, and here the whole nation assembled to celebrate the Olympic games, the grandest festival of antiquity. Of course the temple of Jupiter Olympius was the chief edifice of the city, and it held the colossal statue of Jupiter—the master-piece of Phidias—the greatest work of ancient art. There were also temples of Juno Lucina, and monuments and statues of all the gods named in mythology; and all these were grouped together in the sacred grove called Altis, the sanctuary at once of religion and the arts.

The holiness of Elis made it the common centre of the Greeks, and this led to its prosperity and wealth. But of that glory and renown few vestiges now remain, and the destructive progress of a luxuriant vegetation has sooner effected that ruin which time might otherwise have delayed.

Mycenæ also was a city of great note in ancient Greece. In the pages of Homer it is distinguished for the excellence of its buildings, and it was the seat of the ill-starred house of Atreus ; but it has long been in ruins. Even in the days of Thucydides its palaces were but fragments of stone, and we have no authentic annals of its antiquity, for it ceased to be a living city before history was born. Its ruins now consist of an irregular inclosure, called the " Gate of Lions," of rough masonry, but very strong. The walls of the citadel also may be traced in their circuit, many parts of them still standing entire. Not only has time failed, but the destructive hand of man also has been unable yet to break them down. They are said to have been built by the Cyclopes : their durability certainly is wonderful. Of other ancient buildings, only the traces of a few foundations remain ; the rest are lost beneath turf and mountain plants. The specimens left are some of them very ornamental, and of dainty design. " The king of men " appears to have kept as splendid a court as any Oriental sovereign, and though his life was not spared him, after he returned a conqueror from Troy, Mycenæ had already reached a high pitch of magnificence. In the pages of the poet, however, Agamemnon will be best remembered, for Cyclopean though the ruins of Mycenæ may be, they are dying away, and bear testimony no more to the greatness and splendour of kings.

From the cities of Greece, we will proceed to those of Italy ; and the first that demands attention is Veii, the ancient rival of Rome. War, nothing but war, forms the history of this proud competitor of the eternal city, and even so early as the fabled reign of Romulus in Rome, the capital of the Etruscans had attained considerable power and glory. It was also famous as the school from whence the future empress of the world learnt the arts of civilization. Veii bears a conspicuous part in Roman history. Of many a stirring legend of Roman intrepidity and heroism, it was the chief occasion. For four hundred years it competed with Rome for the laurels of war, and it caused much uneasiness to the rising mistress of the earth. Rome dreaded Veii, for her enmity was not to be despised.

But the fortune of Rome triumphed in the end. in the year of Rome, 356, after a long siege ; and the long-hoarded vengeance of the Romans was unsparingly poured forth. The wretched inhabitants were slaughtered without

mercy, or fled across the open country in helpless despair, and the conquered city was razed to the ground.

In the reign of Augustus, the site of Veii was again colonized by the Romans; but the glory of the Etruscan capital had passed away, and the colony did not thrive; and in the days of Adrian it had nearly died away. A faint existence was lengthened and drawn out to a very late period of the Roman Empire; but it was Veii no more—nor her shadow—nor the shadow of a shade.

Of ancient Veii few vestiges remain. The progress of destruction has been rapid and effectual, and ere long the last fragments of her ruins will have perished. The walls, temples, and palaces have all entirely disappeared already, and, in their place, we have bare down, occasionally fringed with wood, with not a single habitation on its surface. The name of Veii lives, but not herself. As for modern Veii, it never occupied a third part of the site of the ancient city, and never attained any consequence that could long survive.

Rome triumphed. Of the city of the seven hills, at the same time that it is difficult to say little, it is unnecessary to say much, for the subject has been exhausted by a host of eminent compilers. Its first foundation by the followers of Romulus, who built a few rude huts on the Palatine hill, though involved in mythical story, has been deeply sifted and clearly laid down, and the history of its subsequent greatness is known to every school-boy in all its details.

The first to aggrandize the rude city of Romulus was Tarquin. He raised many stately buildings to beautify the capital; but these were all destroyed by the Gauls; nor were they of a high style of architecture. It is true that the followers of Brennus were amazed at the grandeur of the forum, where the senators sat in solemn conclave, awaiting their entrance; but they were barbarians, and had no knowledge of architecture, and were surprised at the style of buildings which so infinitely surpassed their own rough wandering homes. It was not till after the subjugation of Greece that Roman architecture assumed a tasteful character. Of early Rome the works were rude and inelegant, and hardly objects of admiration to any beside those who gloried in everything that had a Roman name. The study of the magnificent models of Greece gradually reformed the Roman taste, and the imitation of those polished specimens soon covered the seven hills with splendid private dwellings and public edifices.

Roman greatness was at its highest pitch in the reign of Augustus, and the city had then reached its greatest splendour. "Augustus found the capital of brick, and left it of marble," is

a trite saying, and verily, he did contribute much to the beautifying of the city. Others before his time had paved for him the way, and others followed up his good example after him. Even Nero did some good in his own way. \* He destroyed the city by fire—at all events, his conduct on the occasion gave rise to an opinion that he was the incendiary. The burning of the dirty and ill-ventilated city was not without its use. It rendered practicable its restoration on more scientific principles, and it was so restored. Trajan built the matchless forum which, at a later period, struck Constantine, a prince who had visited all the great cities of Greece and Asia, with astonishment and surprise; and Adrian completed the decorations of the eternal city, which, in later ages, after it had experienced siege, conquest and desolation, still retained beauty and grandeur worthy of the mistress of the world.

The forum, which lay between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, was eight hundred feet wide, and adorned on all sides with porticos, shops, and other edifices of imposing grandeur. The capitol was a mighty fortress temple, which stood on the highest of the seven hills. It was the largest and the grandest of the buildings in the city, and it was also the most ancient. The temple of Jupiter occupied the centre, and those of Minerva and Juno stood on two sides of it. At the head of the Palatine hills stood the palaces of the Cæsars. The domes and piers still remain in sufficient glory to attest their by-gone grandeur; but altogether the whole is a melancholy wreck of what the city was. The ancient walls remain, at the present moment, to show the extent of the city in its palmiest days, when Aurelian effected its last extension. It embraces an extraordinary extent, and the ruins attest an almost morbid taste in the Roman people for rearing vast edifices. Of these erections many were religious and triumphant buildings—temples and arches—now alike in decay. Was not the downfall merited? If the Latin satirists are correct in the estimate they formed of the national morals, Rome deserved the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. Pompeii and Herculaneum had actually met similar punishment, and, amid the remains of the buried cities, have been found ornaments, pictures, and even household utensils, so licentious and obscene, that the doors of the rooms in which they are now deposited at Naples, are not opened, except to scientific men. But what were Pompeii and Herculaneum, but transcripts of eternal Rome? True, Rome still lives; the dome of St. Peter rears its proud head on high, and the Vatican is a substitute for the palaces of the Cæsars;

but it is no more the Rome of the Romans—the mistress of the world.

Here we may bid adieu to Mr. Buckley's *Ancient Cities of the World*. He asks us next to repair with him to Scandinavia; but we have no mind to go thither just at present. We fully admit that it is the abode of a people who have occasioned great, sudden, and numerous revolutions in Europe; but this is not the object of our present enquiry. We have also purposely skipped over another chapter, about the middle of the book, on "the ruins of American civilization;" for this reason, that the traces left do not show that civilization to have been very great. The temples in America, as everywhere else, appear to have been the best edifices of the place, and these were, or rather are, for they survive to the present day, much too humble to be noticed along with the wrecks of the great cities of the older continent. True, some of them are enormous in size. The great temple of Mexico almost reminds one of what the Tower of Belus might have been; but the largeness of the size of the building is not an evidence of civilization. The arches and ceilings are of the rudest description, and, if these pyramids have appeared grand in the eyes of some travellers, they owe the favorable impression rather to the beauty of nature around them, than to any intrinsic splendour of their own. As for other edifices, they are ruder still, being narrow apartments, and wrought with grotesque designs, and of a much lower standard of architecture than the worst specimens in the Eastern Hemisphere. The only beauty of ancient American buildings is that they seem unimpaired by time. Buildings of their age, in the Old World, have long since passed into shapeless ruins, but they survive untouched by time, and uninjured by the weather. The fact is, the American atmosphere has some particular virtues for preserving old edifices.

We rise from the perusal of Mr. Buckley's work, not without receiving a lesson worthy to be remembered long. To most of the cities which we have seen in his company, idolatry has been the sure forerunner of destruction. They had attained a stage of civilization much higher than we generally give the ancient nations of the earth credit for. Not only the different styles of architecture, but the materials they were composed of and adorned with, are, in many cases, indicative of much knowledge and refinement. But this could not preserve them—this could not screen them from the wrath of the Most High. The wars of men appear as the ostensible causes of their ruin, but the

agency of a Higher Power, though not directly visible, is clearly to be traced on the vicissitudes of their destiny. In some cases, the convulsions of nature produced the ruin—in not a few the worm and the moth have reduced the greatest monuments of human industry and art. But they were all the means by which the inscrutable ways of God were fulfilled,—and in every case when corruption had reached a pitch too high for heaven to suffer it to continue and look on. Examine the fragments of ancient buildings. What do they record? They are all the memorials of man's folly and forgetfulness. The spirited efforts of the chisel often represent, indeed, a high state of civilization, but they are not the less silent chronicles of licentious superstition. The sports, arms, habits of nations, are carved on the monumental stone, but most prominent of all are represented the diabolical objects of Pagan worship. The curse of God has followed the magnificent records of the impiety of man—that they might thus be at once the witnesses of His power and of the vanity of their purblind maker. Unblest and unhelpen by Divine assistance, even Titanian efforts failed to secure that footing of durability, which Heaven has not designed, save for the advancement of truth.

And now those sites of glory and licentiousness have become so abandoned and forsaken, that the superstitious believe them to be haunted by evil spirits. A grim solemnity invests the ruins, and even the daring and the bold deem them dangerous of approach. And they have become dens of the beasts of the deserts. The lion has made his lair in many, and the bones of sheep and other animals, which travellers frequently alight upon in the midst of their researches, show that ravenous animals are their principal inhabitants. "The owls shall dwell there, and the satyrs shall dance," has come to pass. Now no man dwelleth in them; even at noon-day the wild dog howls amid them to insult their silence. This has been the fate alike of temples, tombs, and palaces; temples where thousands once worshipped, and which, for several generations, were regarded among the wonders of the world; palaces, where the proudest of the proud lived and swayed; tombs, where the great ones of the earth were interred by their descendants, that dust might return in peace to dust:—all alike are now the scenes of man's humiliation, objects for the thoughtful to ponder over. Even the traces of their history cannot be followed out; it is often impossible so much as to guess at the chain of vicissitudes that have made them what they are.



- ART. VI.—1. *Directions for Revenue Officers in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, regarding the Settlement and Collection of the Land Revenue, and the other duties connected therewith. Promulgated under the authority of the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor. Agra, November 1, 1849. Second Edition, Calcutta, 1850.*
2. *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary, October 3, 1853.*
3. *A Sermon preached in St. Paul's Church, Agra, on occasion of the death of the Honorable James Thomason, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, by the Rev. T. V. French, M. A., Late Fellow of University College, Oxford, and Church Missionary in Agra. October 2nd. A. D. MDCCCLIII. Published at the request of the Church Wardens of St. Paul's, and of other friends. Agra.*

A GREAT MAN has passed from among us—a man ennobled, not by any one act of transcendent genius, or feat of moral daring, but by the far rarer merit of a long series of distinguished actions, all successfully bearing upon the happiness and well-being of millions of our species. Such an one was JAMES THOMASON, the late Lieut.-Governor of the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.

It is not our intention to give an elaborate biographical notice of the deceased statesman, or to attempt to assign his place in the history of India. The scene of his life is yet close and recent; it admits not of the mellowed tints imparted by distance; and without these, the lineaments of biography are too rugged and harsh to be attractive, too brightly colored to secure the verdict of impartiality. Still, as reviewers of all that concerns the welfare of India, we cannot decline the task of briefly tracing the progress of Mr. Thomason's career, and presenting a hasty sketch of the administration by which he has achieved a name second to none in the array of India's Civil Governors.

James Thomason was born at Shelford, in the vicinity of Cambridge, on the 3rd of May, 1804; but he was yet in early childhood, when his father, the Rev. T. Thomason, relinquished his parochial charge of that delightful spot, and devoted himself to ministerial labour in India.

Towards the close of 1808, the Rev. Mr. Thomason arrived in India with his family, but not before he had experienced, at the Sandheads, the fearful perils of shipwreck. The *Travellers* went to pieces on a reef within sight of land, and Mr.

Thomason, with his wife and children, half-naked, drenched, and affrighted, escaped with difficulty and danger, in the ship's boats, to the *Harl of Spencer*, which providentially was near at hand.\*

The remainder of James Thomason's childhood was passed with his parents in Calcutta. In 1814, at the age of ten, he was sent to England. There he was fortunate in being welcomed, with all the warmth of a parent, by the great and good Mr. Simeon, who had been the constant friend, and frequent guest, of his father and mother at Shelford. The eager affection with which he received his youthful charge, makes us love all the more the venerable Simeon, though one smiles at his almost maternal care and inexperienced anxiety. He assures his father, that "flannels will be ready to put on at a moment;" and communicates to his mother the alarm he felt at finding him one day fishing. The sober conclusion to which he comes, that *even after this* he did not repent his charge, is characteristic and amusing:—

Be assured that if I were indeed his father, I could not feel much more for him than I do. He was imprudently fishing by the river side, without hat or coat or waist-coat. Hearing only that he was fishing with little James Farish, I went full of anxiety to find him, and finding him in such a situation it was almost a dagger to my heart. But no evil occurred. I began to feel how great a matter I had undertaken; but I do not repent, and trust I shall never give you cause to repent.—*Life*, p. 398.

It is curious to observe, that the *enquiring nature* of his mind, which continued to be one of the distinctive characteristics of Mr. Thomason's later days, was that which at this early period first impressed Simeon. "In liveliness and sweetness of disposition," he writes in his first letter, "and in tenderness of spirit, he far exceeds my most sanguine expectations. What ——— said of his inquisitiveness (his *spirit of enquiry* I mean,) was delightfully verified all along the road.....Many of his questions were such as a man, a traveller of sound sense and judgment, would have asked, and led to explanations which it was the delight of my heart to give."† And again, to his mother, (though here the first clause finds no corresponding feature in after life,)—"he is, as you say, a little idle; but very sensible and acute in his questions."‡

Simeon shortly after put him to a private school at Aspenden, twenty-two miles from Cambridge, where he appears to have remained about four years. At the age of fourteen, he was

\* See the account of this event — *Life of Thomason*, p. 142, and *Life of St.* p. 260.

† *Life of Simeon*, p. 391.

‡ *Idem*, p. 397.

transferred for two or three years to the care of Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hodson, at Stansted. In both seminaries, he signalized himself by gaining prizes.

In 1821, when sixteen or seventeen years of age, he went to Haleybury College. Here we have another characteristic view of the simplicity of Simeon's solicitude, in his anxious and solemn remonstrance at the monthly college report being on one occasion rendered as "regular and correct," instead of "*quite* regular and correct"—the difference turning out to be caused by the neglect of some college formality of no consequence whatever.\* Mr. Thomason, in after life, used to relate this incident with a smile.

At Hayleybury, he distinguished himself by most exemplary assiduity, and carried off many prizes and medals.† In 1822, Simeon writes to his father:—"On the 23rd May, I intend to go to see him receive his last prizes; and on the 1st of June, I hope, your mother and I shall sail with him, as I did with you.....as far as the pilot goes."‡ On the 19th September he landed in India. In June, 1823, he was reported qualified for the public service, but was allowed to continue in the college to prosecute the study of Mahometan Law. In December of the same year, we find him appointed Assistant Register to the Sudder Court at Calcutta. About the same time, Simeon writes to his father: "I delight to hear such blessed tidings of my beloved James. Give my kindest love to him. We hear him in sweet remembrance, and most affectionately long for his welfare in every possible way."§

It was, indeed, one of the greatest privileges we can imagine, to have been, in the season of youth, for eight years under the immediate charge of the apostolical Simeon. His simplicity of character, and earnestness of purpose, fitted him eminently to be an influential guide, as well as an attractive pattern, for a young man, while his cheerful temperament, and buoyant spirits, exhibited religion in the most inviting aspect. Whether owing to this influence or not, it is certain that James Thomason was, throughout his life, guided by the same depth of religious sentiment, and the same catholicity of principle, as animated Simeon.

\* *Life of Simeon*, p. 558.

† Among the subjects for which prizes were awarded, the following occur,—some of them repeatedly:—*Mathematics*; *Political Economy*; *Law*; *Classical Literature*; *History*.

‡ *Life of Simeon*, p. 562.

§ *Idem*, p. 589.

Mr. Thomason remained attached to the Sudder Court, as Assistant Register, till 1826, when we find him appointed to officiate as Judge of the Jungle Mehals. In the same year he submitted to an examination in the College of Fort William as to proficiency in Mahometan Law, which he had been prosecuting more or less since he was reported qualified for service. The examiners pronounced the highest eulogium on the "intense application and extraordinary talent" brought by him to bear upon the subject;\* and the Government conferred upon him an honorary grant of 3,000 rupees. In the following year, 13th February 1827, he was obliged, by severe indisposition, to seek a restoration of health in a voyage to England, where he joined his father, then also on a temporary visit at home.

Within two years he returned to India, and in 1829 was re-attached to the Sudder Court, as Deputy Register and Preparer of Reports. Shortly after we find him officiating as Judge and Magistrate of the suburbs of Calcutta, and Superintendent of the Allipore Jail. In 1830, he was appointed to act as Deputy Secretary to Government in the Territorial department; and in the beginning of 1831, permanently posted to the same office in the Judicial and Revenue departments. While thus in a position most favorable for gaining an insight into the general working of our Government, it may be gathered that his attention was also attracted to the subject of education, for we find him in the same year appointed a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction. He had also devoted himself laboriously to the mastery of the Hindu, as well as the Mahometan sources of law; and interleaved copies of *Menu* and of the *Hedaya*, with carefully recorded notes of difficult or curious points, attest the intelligence and the

\* The following is an extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 28th July, 1826:—

"From the studious habits and tried abilities of Mr. Thomason, we were led to expect the display of extraordinary attainments. We assigned, therefore, to that gentleman, the performance of exercises proportionally arduous; and it affords us sincere gratification to state that our estimate, high as it was, of his acquirements, fell short of the reality. When we say that the translations were made with the utmost fidelity, accuracy and despatch, we bear but inadequate testimony to his merits. In the course of three or four hours, Mr. Thomason not only performed what was required of him, but he found leisure also to make judicious annotations on abstruse passages, thereby furnishing satisfactory proof, that to the capacity of consulting original legal authorities, he has added a considerable knowledge of the law itself. Mr. Thomason read a passage of the *Hedaya* in the presence of the law officers of the Sudder Dawanny Adalat, to whom he explained the meaning in the Persian language, and who expressed themselves in the highest degree gratified by the learning and acumen which he displayed."

The report is signed by Macnaghten, Kiddell, and Ousely; and in consequence of it, although the giving of honorary premia had been discontinued by order of the Court of Directors, yet, as it was shown that he had been at the study before the prohibition was made, he received the grant of Rs. 3,000.

assiduity with which he pursued the study.\* It is not often that we find a combined attention thus successfully turned at once to Arabic and to Sanscrit literature.

But it is not in the Secretarial bureau alone, or in the private study, that administrative capacity is to be gained. It is not enough that the red tape be ever and anon untied; bundles of correspondence read and digested; and the busy pen daily employed in carefully expressed and nimbly recorded despatches. It is true that the views of enlightened officers, ably employed in active duty, may thus be thoroughly mastered, and valuable notes and memoranda may be multiplied till the Secretariat shelves groan beneath them. But no study will supply the place of *personal experience*; and so long as an officer has not himself mixed with the people, and come into immediate contact with them, as their District Officer, his opinions cannot, properly speaking, be called *his own*, since they are grounded, not upon personal observation, but upon the reports of others.

It was fortunate therefore for himself,—more fortunate for the country at large,—that Mr. Thomason did not long continue in Calcutta. On the 18th of September, 1832, he was appointed Magistrate and Collector of Azimgurh, a large and populous district† in the Benares division, bordering upon Oudh.

The Vice-President in Council, Sir Charles Metcalfe, had been so impressed with “the marked ability and efficiency” of his official conduct, (for during the absence of Mr. Macnaghten he appears to have had sole charge of the Secretariat,) that with the concurrence of Mr. Ross, he publicly communicated to him, on his departure, “the cordial approbation and thanks of the Government.”‡

A small portion of his charge, comprised in one pergunnah, was permanently assessed on the principles of the Bengal settlement: the remainder stood upon the same unsettled basis as the rest of the North Western Provinces. The Revenue Survey was about to be introduced into the district; preliminary to that, the boundaries of every village had to be defined, and disputes adjusted; then was to follow the Revenue Settlement, and Record of Rights, framed under Regulations

\* These copies are now in the library of the College at Agra, to which he bequeathed the greater portion of his books.

† Azimgurh contains 2,516 square miles, and has a population of 16,53,251 souls, so that the number of persons falls at the enormous rate of 657 to the square mile.

‡ Letter from Mr. J. R. Colvin, Deputy Secretary, dated 5th February, 1833.

VII. of 1822 and IX. of 1833, on the principles laid down by the great and lamented Robert Merttins Bird. Here was a noble sphere for the acquisition of knowledge and experience ; for devising expedients to facilitate the rapid and correct disposal of public business ; and for examining how the series of acts, which issue from the Council Board or the Governor, and of which the upper features are often alone observable from the Secretariat chair, affect the people in the sober realities of every-day life, when, through a variety of intervening media, they at last reach down into actual contact with them. Here, too, were golden opportunities for exercising command, both upon native and European mind, and for testing the influence possessed over others, in swaying their opinions and actions.

Upon all these objects, the busy mind of Mr. Thomason was ceaselessly engaged. Instructions were drawn up, with diligent thoughtfulness, for the guidance of his covenanted assistants in the conduct of the independent charges assigned to each ; and as the settlement drew on, carefully framed rules for the adjustment of disputes and other matters, were laid down for his Tehseeldars and European staff. Upon these, he sought to elicit the suggestions and remarks of his head assistants ; such criticisms, both in writing and in personal conference, he was forward to invite, and to take into ready consideration. But an opinion or rule once carefully arrived at, had always been the result of such mature and sound deliberation, that, however much contested, it was rarely abandoned. The general interests of his charge engaged also his constant attention. We find him, for instance, objecting, in his private capacity, to the Legislative Council, against a proposed enactment for investing the Magistrate with power to determine the compensation due, under certain circumstances, by land-holders to indigo planters, and protesting that it would be a stigma upon our judicial system ;\* again, we meet with an indignant note upon an unjust civil decree passed by a native functionary : and with an elaborate memorandum on the rights of under-tenants, for the support of which he furnishes directions to his assistants. These all display the practised hand of the Secretary, guided by the now practical mind, and closely observing eye, of the Magistrate and Collector.†

His administration of Azimgurh, contained, in fact, the mini-

\* Letter dated 5th December, 1835.

† It is curious to observe, that now, as in after days, his main attention was devoted to the duties of *Collector*, and that he disburdened himself, as much as he possibly could, of all magisterial business.

ature features of his later Government of the North Western Provinces. He was singularly fortunate in his assistants, and he was not slow in recognizing their merits, and according to them his confidence. It was indeed a rare combination of circumstances which brought Robert Montgomery and Henry Carre Tucker under the magisterial authority of James Thomason. The period he spent in this charge was between four and five years; but in that time, he not only made and reported a settlement, which gave satisfaction both to the Government and the people,\* but gained more in knowledge of the country, and in the art of governing, than is commonly attained during a life-time. To his residence at Azimgurh, he always reverted with delight; and as he visited it in his annual tours, the memory of domestic happiness, and official usefulness, could be traced in the glistening eye, and the mingled sympathies, which lighted up his countenance, or cast a shadow across i

The demands of the State at last broke up the domestic hearth (never again to be permanently re-built) and the friendly social circle, of Azimgurh. The District Officer was now ripe for higher employment; and in March, 1837, he was, in the most flattering manner, selected by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Lieut.-Governor, to officiate as Secretary to the Government of the North Western Provinces, in the Judicial and Revenue departments.† Within a year, however, he was compelled, by severe domestic affliction, to proceed to Europe, from whence he returned in the beginning of 1840. He was shortly after appointed permanently to the post which he had last vacated.

\* This Settlement Report was printed in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* in 1837, but we have not had access to it. From a late periodical (*Saunders' Magazine*) we gather, however, that the Sudder Board of Revenue, in reporting the result to the Government, stated "their sense of obligation to Mr. Thomason, who had heartily entered into their views, perfectly comprehended their plans, and carried them into execution with great skill and judgment." The assessment, like that of all the earlier settlements, was higher than the standard later adopted; but the record of rights was very carefully attended to, as well as the interests in subordinate tenures; and the fairness of his proceedings has been justified by the great prosperity of the district, and the increase of cultivation.

† In the letter offering him this appointment, Sir Charles placed three posts at his disposal—a contemplated office of Commissioner or Superintendent of Settlements; an officiating Commissionership in the regular line; the officiating Secretaryship (letter dated 16th February, 1837.)

In the previous year, (14th May, 1836,) Sir Charles had addressed a letter complimenting him highly on his administration of Azimgurh, offering him the contemplated Judgeship of that station, and even desiring to make him at once the Judge, the Magistrate, and the Collector of the zillah. Mr. Thomason, however, preferred to <sup>time</sup> simply as Collector, that he might finish his settlement, and at the time expressed his opinion to be now against the combination (which he would seem at some former period to have favored,) of the office of Judge with that of District Office

In this Secretariat office, he served in all about two years and a half, and added further to his experience by an intimate official connection with Sir Charles Metcalfe, Mr. Robertson, and Lord Auckland, who for sometime administered the Government of Agra. The busy duties of Secretary did not prevent his turning attention to subjects of general interest. He enquired carefully into the nature and effect of the transit dues in the Saugor territories, and advocated their abolition (a measure which, mainly through his endeavours, was eventually enforced by the Governor-General in 1847); while his ability on educational subjects was recognized by his appointment as Visitor to superintend the Agra and the Delhi Colleges.

Towards the close of 1841, he was nominated an Extra Member of the Sudder Board of Revenue, and succeeded to the permanent post, in succession to Mr. R. M. Bird. In this responsible position, his versatile mind found no lack of subjects of commanding interest; and as he journeyed about the land, examining with his own eye the records of the settlement, which was now on the eve of completion, the present writer well remembers the intuitive glance that singled out the weaker portions of the work, and the sagacity and kindness with which remedies were suggested.

While Mr. Thomason held this post at Allahabad, Lord Ellenborough formed his acquaintance, and recognized his merits. He appointed him a member of the famous Finance Committee; and soon after, (about the close of 1842.) selected him for an office of equal emolument to the one he held, but of greater renown, that of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. In this capacity, he accompanied Lord Ellenborough to the North West, and finally returned with him to Calcutta. The following year, that nobleman, with full experience of his eminent abilities, nominated him Lieut.-Governor of the North Western Provinces; and on the 12th December, 43, the Honorable James Thomason assumed the Government.

As Lieut.-Governor, the chief seat of Mr. Thomason's residence was Agra; but excepting the first year of his appointment, and 1848-49 (when military operations rendered carriage scarce and valuable,) he spent every winter, living under canvass, and marching through some portion of his territories. He also passed at Simlah the summer seasons of four years, during which, between the circuit and the hills, Agra did not see much of her chief.\*

\* Those summers were 1847, 1849, 1850, and 1851. It was his intention to have spent the hot season of 1854 at Nynee Tal, the mountain retreat of Rohilkund and Kemaon.



But it was ill health on one occasion, and the convenience of proximity to the Governor-General on the other, that led him to Simlah; for he rather preferred to remain at Agra, where, besides other advantages, his library and records presented greater facility of reference.

The eight annual progresses accomplished during his administration were so laid out, that most of the districts were, after regular periods, visited no less than three times. The arrangements of the coming march were usually concluded two or three months before its commencement; and so exact were the details, and adhered to with such punctuality, that the time of his arrival at any stage could be depended on by every officer with almost perfect certainty. The progress of the camp might be delayed by inclement weather for one or two days, but the loss would easily be made up by forced marches, and punctuality again restored.

One great secret of Mr. Thomason's successful administration was the improvement of the opportunities afforded by these annual tours. As he rode along, attended by his staff and some of the officers of the district, by the Commissioner of the division, (if sufficiently young and agile for horse exercise) and possibly by some adventurous junior member of the Board of Revenue, you would see a cavalcade approach. It is the Magistrate and Assistant of the new district on which you are entering, followed by the Tehseeldar and a few other officials. After greetings exchanged, for the two parties have not met since the last triennial progress, the officers of the last district take their leave, and the Lieut.-Governor continues his progress. A few miles ahead, the white battlements of a bridge are perceived through the mango-groves; and as the party approaches, they find themselves threading the narrow road-way of a high embankment, pierced here and there with bridges for the drainage of the lovely low-lands, which on either side stretch far away into the distance. Midway is the silvery track of the main stream winding along the centre of the plain, and spanned by many noble arches, which render its passage, formerly a difficult and sometimes dangerous work, now of easy accomplishment at all seasons. The minor works are here and there minutely inspected, and the position and safety of the embankment discussed with the Commissioner and the Engineer of the division, both of whom, as arranged on the previous tour, have given the Magistrate counsel and aid. Arrived at the central bridge, the party descend to the stream; and here, at the motion of the Magistrate, the head mason of the establishment, to whose faithful-

and ingenuity the finish and solidity of the structure are mainly due, steps forward. The merits of the building, the causes of early failure, the remedies applied, the chances of future stability or dilapidation, are thoroughly examined. Each of the agents in the work, not forgetting the artizan, receives his meed of praise, and is encouraged to future exertion by the approving word and smile of the chief.

The cavalcade passes on to the suburbs of a populous town; the winding streets of its closely built wards have already been surveyed and mapped by the Road Engineer, for the Grand Trunk line passes through it, and the Lieut.-Governor thinks that the safety of life and limb, in the swift and constant traffic, requires a wider space and a less crooked course than the bazar presents. The anxious shop-keepers look on with dismay, but the interests of the few must bend to those of the many, and this sharp angle, and that narrow passage, are doomed to crumble before the necessities of the State.

A little onwards is a vacant space; and here a native gentleman, who has lately joined the party, comes forward. On this spot he proposes to build a caravanserai, but he requires some immunities from the Government, which the Magistrate hesitates to recommend. The quick eye of the Lieut.-Governor recognizes the appropriateness of the spot and the advantages of the plan. The privileges are conceded, and the next progress witnesses a spacious and substantial building for the shelter and comfort of the crowding passengers.

The Tehseelee school, filled with eager and intelligent faces, is now visited. The kind and benignant smile removes the awe with which the ruler is regarded; and the teacher is cheered, and the boys stimulated, in their respective tasks, by reasonable advice and hearty encouragement.

Here a newly-erected Tehseldaree engages attention; there the police-houses on the Grand Trunk road, which, with the regularity of mile-stones (but only half as frequent,) ever and anon strike the eye of the carriage inmate, while they give security and assurance to the foot traveller. Farther on, lies a refractory village, lately the scene of uproar and confusion; the record of its rights and liabilities has now been adjusted, and the prosperity shining over its cultivated fields gives assurance to the Lieut.-Governor that satisfaction has been afforded.

The way now winds around ravines, and passes up and down over the high and difficult banks of a deep-lying stream. Here is met the Superintendent of the district roads, a quondam Serjeant, who points out the track he has surveyed under the

**Magistrate's orders.** The Lieut.-Governor suspects a course of intercepted drainage, and suggests another line, along which the water-shed appears to run. On the next tour the same locality is hardly to be recognized in the wide and gradual descent to the well-bridged river.

The encampment happens to be pitched within a few miles of the Ganges canal. In the cool of the evening, the party issue forth, on elephants and on horse-back, and make for a bridge where a fall and a series of locks are under preparation. The heaps of kunker rock, intended to break the descent of the waters, the position and construction of the locks, the character of the masonry, all pass under the narrow inspection of the Lieut.-Governor; who observes perhaps that the neighbouring houses crowd too closely on the allotted margin, and directs the enclosure of a larger space.

The station, a heavily populated cantonment, is reached, of which the drainage has long been a reproach, and the bane of the fine European soldiery there cantoned. The canal now passes in the vicinity: can its agency, or the neighbouring Revenue Survey, be brought to bear upon a remedy? The Station Officers, the Executive Engineer, the Road Engineer, the Canal and the Civil Officers, all meet to discuss the question: a plan is digested, and put in train by the Lieut.-Governor himself.\*

The new buildings and improvements in the native city are inspected. The dispensary is visited, and its records examined; the Apprentices are questioned; the Surgeon is encouraged to enlarge his charitable designs, and the Sub-Assistant is stimulated to prosecute with redoubled diligence and kindness his beneficent profession.

Such is but a specimen of the advantages of local inspection, and personal supervision, in imparting influence, shape, and precision to the commands of Government, and inspiring the whole subordinate agency with life, intelligence, and energy. The out-door labour, however, formed but a trifling fraction of the operations. All reports of the district, throughout the past year or two, involving doubtful points, or principles of unusual importance, were reserved for the occasion, and now brought forward to be disposed of, discussed, or reconsidered. Difficult cases, in which the District Officer was embarrassed by perplexities, or weighty matters, in which the Commissioner hesitated to act before knowing the views of his

\* A measure, something of this description, was, we believe, set on foot at Cawnpore, but was still uncompleted at the time of Mr. Thomason's decease.

chief, were now submitted for the advice or the decision of the Lieut.-Governor. Further, such points as enquiry or conversation suggested to Mr. Thomason himself as requiring special aid, supervision, or explanation, were brought forward, and the documents bearing on them promptly produced. All these were carefully studied, and the questions discussed, where necessary, with the District Officer and his subordinates, the Commissioner, the Judge, or, as the case might be, with the Executive Engineer or the Civil Surgeon. The results of each important deliberation were generally embodied in a minute, or despatch, by which, while the constituted channels of business were respected, authority was specially conveyed, and provision, where necessary, forthwith made, for the prompt execution of the determined line of conduct.

An incidental advantage, but one of peculiar value, was the acquaintance imparted by such intimate converse, with the qualifications and abilities of every officer subordinate to the Government. Mr. Thomason possessed a rare power of discriminating character, and no opportunity was so favorable for exercising it, as to find a man in the midst of his daily work. With unexpected rapidity, the Lieut.-Governor would perceive the weak point of a case or line of procedure; and the officer, if not thoroughly master of his work, would find himself foiled by one whom he counted upon as a stranger to his business, but who turned out to be more thoroughly acquainted with its details than himself. The earnest worker, and the aspiring subordinate, were recognized and encouraged. The *former* would be incited to prosecute, with redoubled energy, some occupation of his own devising, or for which his chief perceived in him a peculiar aptitude and taste: here the reins would be loosened, and a generous spur given to the willing laborer. To the *latter*, some special sphere of industry or research would be suggested—perhaps, the enquiry into an interesting custom or tenure brought to notice in the circuit: he would be invited probably to embody his investigation when completed, and to state his views and conclusions in a written form; and the impulse thus given to talent and application, would prove perhaps the starting point of a useful, if not distinguished, career.

At home or in the camp, in the hills or at Agra, the same continuous course of unwearying labour was pursued by Mr. Thomason. The daily influx of reports was usually disposed of promptly upon their receipt. Such despatches as needed

consideration, were reserved for the early hours of the succeeding day, or other leisure time. The rapidity with which these were mastered—no important part of the correspondence, however long or intricate, escaping his keen eye—and the promptitude with which appropriate orders, often involving detailed and extended arrangements, were issued, could not fail to impress every functionary in the vicinity with a profound conviction of his great administrative talent. The most diverse subjects, from a riot to a district survey, from a revenue settlement to the details of a bridge, a jail, or a road, were handled with equal facility. The embryo idea of a useful scheme, perhaps almost unconsciously expressed, would immediately be caught up, and if capable of practical development, fashioned into mature existence. Independently, too, of suggestions from without, there was a creative power within, spontaneously originating new measures and designs, with a fertility of invention that betokened a mind ever restless and active for the good of the Government. Endowed with such powerful and versatile talents, Mr. Thomason yet sought assiduously for the opinion and advice of others wherever available. A great portion of his day was spent in official interviews with officers, civil and military, connected in any way with the advancement of his administration. Social visits and parties of ceremony were equally turned, as occasion offered, to the same great object; and he used to remark, that the busy employment of such opportunities was one of the most important parts of his duty. Though he invited discussion, sought for the views of others, and desired that his own should be subjected to the severest criticism, and although he weighed most dispassionately the arguments adduced from whatever quarter, yet it was seldom, indeed, that he found occasion to alter a conviction or a conclusion once deliberately formed. Whenever he did so, he was forward to make the due acknowledgment; for no man ever grudged less to avow himself indebted to others; and the labors of his subordinates were all the more unsparingly entered upon, because, whatever value they bore, the Lieut.-Governor was the first to perceive and to reward; such generous appreciation, accorded by one who ever exhibited a lively interest in the success and the welfare of his subordinates, elicited from them a grateful response; and he received, in consequence, that ready and devoted service—the fruit of a loving and admiring spirit—which is incomparably more valuable than the forced obedience of fear and constraint.

It is no wonder, that with such powers of discernment, so great an aptitude for business, with such a command the services and affections of his subordinate officers, and such complete devotion to his Government, the administration flourished under his hands. No wonder that the indolent were stimulated to exertion, the able and energetic prompted to additional effort, and the careless driven by shame, if not by apprehension, to industry and reform. Praise frequently carried with it a higher reward than promotion, (albeit the two bore ever a close connection;) while animadversion and reprimand were often accompanied by a moral stigma, that stung more pungently than actual degradation.

We propose now to examine with more detail some of the chief proceedings, by which Mr. Thomason rendered his administration so illustrious.

The REVENUE DEPARTMENT is that to which his attention was earliest turned, and from which it was never averted. About the time he assumed the Government, the Circular Orders of the Sudder Board of Revenue (for the broad principles, liberal views, and lucid instructions of which, we are mainly indebted to the lamented R. M. Bird,) fell out of print, and their want began to be felt. Instead of issuing a new edition, it occurred to Mr. Thomason to compile a fresh set of directions, which, supplying what was deficient in the Board's rules, should exhibit the whole duty of a Revenue Officer, and the principles on which our system is founded.\* The publication, consisting originally of three parts, commenced in 1844, and

\* In the preface to this work, after referring to the Regulations and Acts of Government in its legislative capacity, and the orders issued in its executive capacity, the rules and constructions of the Sudder Court, of the Revenue Board, the Accountant, and the Civil Auditor, the Lieut.-Governor proceeds:—

"The object of the present work is to collect together, from these different sources, all that bears on the Revenue Administration of the North West Provinces, to arrange it methodically, and to place it authoritatively before the officers employed in the department, with such additional remarks and directions, as may suffice to explain the mutual relation and dependence of the several parts of the system."

So, after enumerating the four printed Circulars of the Sudder Board of Revenue, he adds:—

"These orders were clear and succinct, and were found to be of the greatest benefit in facilitating the transaction of public business. They were, however, in their nature, incomplete, for they did not treat systematically the subjects to which they had reference, but were only a digest, under convenient heads, of orders which had from time to time been issued to meet exigencies as they arose. In process of time, also, some of the rules were abrogated or modified. When, therefore, a new edition of these Circular Orders was required, it was evident that extensive additions and modifications would be necessary to adapt them to the existing state of things, and it was ultimately determined to re-construct the whole in the present form, embodying in the work such of the orders as remained in force, or throwing them into the appendix."—*Directions to Revenue Officers, Preface, p. 4.*

the whole was completed in 1848. Of each part at first were printed "a few trial copies, struck off for *private* circulation, in order" (as it was his constant object,) "to elicit opinions on the important subjects" discussed.\* The *Directions to Settlement Officers*, and the *Directions to Collectors*, were eventually published, as conveying, in an authoritative manner, the views and instructions of the Government. They were subsequently re-published together,† with an elaborate introduction (to which Mr. Thomason appended his own name,) descriptive of the "Land Revenue Administration prevalent in the North Western Provinces of Hindustan." It is there held, that though symptoms of proprietary right may, under Native Governments, exist, yet they are seldom recognized, and are really superseded by the right of the State, which, taking all that it can, and leaving no certain profit, deprives the private title of any recognizable, or at any rate of any marketable, value. Our system, by limiting the demand of the Government, has virtually *created* a property in the soil. Various phases of right are found to exist, or have grown up under us. The Government itself; the whole body of the cultivators; a portion of that body; the head man of the village; or a middleman; may any one of them possess the exclusive right of managing the township, or some portion of that right. Hence the necessity of not simply fixing the Government demand, but of ascertaining by whom, in what capacity, and with what rights and responsibilities, the revenue so limited is to be paid. This cannot be effected by ordinarily constituted courts, for the endless shades of right are not susceptible of any but the most general legislative provision; and each case must be separately enquired into and adjusted by a commission specially endowed with an authority at once judicial and discretionary. Such is the court of the settlement officer. In the treatise which follows this disquisition, the rules to be observed in the formation of settlements are carefully laid down. They differ chiefly from those of the Board in a more elaborate and philosophical definition of the rights of those connected with the soil, and detailed directions for their ascertainment and record.

The second treatise, or the *Directions to Collectors*, embraces all the variety of duty which devolves on that most important, but ill-named, class of functionaries. It opens with

\* "Preliminary Notice" to one of the Trial Copies.

† Under the title, *Directions to Revenue Officers, &c.*, in 1850. See title prefixed to this Article. Several editions of an Urdu translation of both parts separately, and of the whole treatise together, have also issued from the press.

general instructions for the employment and considerate treatment of subordinates;\* it proceeds to lay down valuable rules for the punctual realization of the revenue, for limiting interference by Government, and thus forcing the people as much as possible to self-management; and in case of unavoidable interference, for exercising it so as least to harass, and most to benefit, those concerned.

Of the remaining portion of this invaluable treatise, we shall refer only to the third section, which enforces the system for registration of landed property. A former paper in this *Review*† has ex-

\* A witness before the House of Commons has gratuitously asserted, that Mr. Thomason was not particular in treating the natives of this country with consideration. The case adduced in support of the assertion is that of a Tehseeldar, whose sentence of dismissal for the offence of raffling his property is alleged to have been supported by the Government, while a Magistrate and Collector, who had committed a similar crime, was only reprimanded. At the most the case of the Tehseeldar would not prove inconsiderate treatment, but they who ought to know best, have never heard even of the existence of the case. The facts are as follows: It happened that several Tehseeldars were removed from their posts on strong presumption of delinquency, under sanction of the Commissioner, but were reinstated by the Board of Revenue. The Commissioner remonstrated to Government. Mr. Thomason did not interfere with the orders of the Sudder Board, but cautioned them against the inexpediency of forcing back upon a district men in whose character its officers had no confidence, and who had been declared corrupt by two tribunals. The Sudder Board did not much relish the advice. The evidence noticed above was given by a gentleman who was a member of the Board at the period referred to.

The following extracts show with what care Mr. Thomason inculcated kindness towards the native officials:—

"Every effort should also be used to render the performance of their duties as little as possible burdensome to them. The officer, who keeps them long in attendance at his house, or who requires that they perform their ordinary duties in court in a painful standing position, cannot derive from them that degree of assistance which would otherwise be rendered. He should so dispose his own time, and make his official arrangements, as may conduce to their comfort, and make their work light. The practice of frequently imposing fines for trivial offences cannot be too strongly deprecated. It affords an excuse for dishonesty, and for that cause often fails to have any effect. Errors of judgment should never be so punished, and corrupt or dishonest actions deserve a very different punishment, and cannot be thus either appropriately or beneficially noticed. In cases of neglect or disobedience of orders, the imposition of a fine may be salutary, but it should be moderate in amount—the offence should be undoubted, and generally the first transgression of the kind can more appropriately be noticed by recorded reproof and warning."

And again—

"Great care should be taken to maintain the respectability of the Tehseeldars. They should be selected with discrimination, and after enquiry into the goodness of their character, as well as their official capacity. They should always be received and treated with consideration, and confidentially consulted, as far as conveniently practicable, on all subjects connected with the districts entrusted to their charge. Reproof or censure, when necessary, should be given privately rather than p[ublicly], and, so long as they are allowed to retain office, they should be treated with confidence and respect which is due to their high station. The occasions are rare, in which the imposition of a fine upon a Tehseeldar is advisable justifiable."—*Directions to Collectors*, pp 187—189.

His own practice, in a pre-eminent manner, enforced these principles. His courtesy and consideration equalled, if it did not surpass, that of any other officer, in any rank, we ever met with; and, excepting this solitary attack, we have never heard the imputation against him either of incivility or of harshness.

† See Article IV. in No. XXIV. of the *Calcutta Review*, on the Settlement of the North Western Provinces.



plained, in considerable detail, the minute record both of proprietary and tenant right, which it was one great object of the revenue settlement to form. The first design of the section is to show in what manner this record can be amended and perpetuated, so as to be constantly correspondent with the daily mutation of possession and of right. The anatomy of the Collector's record-room, and the practical directions for every step, from the papers of the Village Accountant, to the archives of the Collector's office, betray the eye and the hand itself familiar with every operation described. But the most important instructions are those which exhibit how the too frequent defect of record at settlement can now be remedied. For those who possess any acquaintance with the subject, the following paragraphs will show the style and spirit, with which able officers were invited to enter upon an arduous undertaking:—

245. It would be vain to suppose that all which is necessary has already been done. The original record, formed at the time of settlement, was often erroneous and imperfect, and it could not be otherwise. At the time of settlement the system was new and imperfectly organized; the persons selected for its performance were not always the best qualified; and the work was necessarily performed with far more rapidity than was compatible with accuracy. The mass of the people were ignorant, and unable to comprehend the object or nature of the proceedings, or the bearing on their position of the settlement, and they were moreover suspicious of any measures connected with the assessment of their lands. Under these circumstances, it is surprising that so much was done, and well done at the time of settlement. There is far more reason to take courage from the great progress already made, than to despair at the magnitude of what still remains to be done.

246. Let us suppose an intelligent officer appointed to the charge of a district, where he is likely to remain for some years. He is acquainted with the system of registration, and convinced of the importance and practicability of maintaining it. On coming, however, to refer to his settlement records in cases that casually occur, he finds them imperfect or erroneous. He concludes that registers resting on such a basis must be defective, and he determines to apply himself in earnest to the correction of the errors. It is the design of the present treatise to aid him in such an undertaking, and to show that it is not difficult at any time to make a fresh commencement, and to attain that degree of accuracy, which it was designed to ensure at the time of settlement.

247. He will find the necessary powers conferred upon him by a resolution of the Government, dated September 12, 1848, which is given in the Appendix, No. XXV. In this resolution are defined the limits within which the powers are to be exercised, and the precautions to be observed in the conduct of the investigations. In order to obtain the full support of his superiors in the Revenue Department, it will be necessary for him to show that he is aware of the nature and extent of the work that is before him, and of the method in which it should be performed.

248. His first efforts should be directed to the instruction of his Sudder Omlah, and of both the pergunnah and village officers, in the system of record and registration prescribed by the Government. Great facilitie

been lately afforded for the instruction of all classes of people in the peculiarities of the system, by publishing treatises on the subject in the vernacular languages, and by the series of elementary school-books in Urdu and Hindi which are designed to lead the pupils to this very subject, viz., the comprehension of the putwarri's papers. The revenue system, when rightly understood and properly worked, affords the greatest stimulus to the general education of the people. Indeed it cannot be expected that the registration of rights will ever become perfect, till the people are sufficiently educated to understand it, and to watch over its execution. There is reason, however, to apprehend, that with all the means of information that are now available, a considerable time will elapse before it can be taken for granted that even the higher and better paid class of officers, such as Serishtadars, Tehseeldars and Canoongoes, are sufficiently familiar with the system, to enable them to judge whether the record of a mouzah has been accurately formed, or to cause its correction where it may be faulty.

249. When the Collector is satisfied that the agents, whom he is to employ, possess the requisite degree of knowledge, he will endeavor to ascertain through their means how far the existing records are defective. Lists should be prepared of those mouzahs, in which it is most necessary to amend, or wholly to recast the record. Some will probably be found, in which re-measurement of the lands, and the formation of an entirely new list is urgently required.

250. Several opportunities will occur, when re-measurement and re-casting of the whole records is necessary, and can be enforced, such as the division of an estate, or its being held khām for a balance. These opportunities should be seized, and the remedy applied. There are other cases where disputes of the people, or partial injury to the estate, will render the people willing to re-measure the estate, and re-cast the papers at their own cost. These are likely to be the cases in which such a process is the most necessary. Every effort should be used to carry it on, so as to be least expensive to the people, and so as to expose them to the least annoyance. Pains should also be taken to explain to the people the benefit they will derive from the measure, and the uses to which it may be put. The field work should be prosecuted as much as possible in the cold weather, when the Collector can give it his personal superintendence. If he cannot himself be near to control and supervise, a properly qualified subordinate officer should have the duty entrusted to him.

251. It is most probable that he will thus, in the course of a short time, by address and management, be able to correct all the records which most need correction, without any expense whatever to the state. Each such new record will afford, as it were, a fresh start to the entries in the malgoozars and pergunnah register regarding the mouzahs, and to the whole of the putwarri's papers. The operation will in fact consist in the formation of a new set of putwarri's papers, based on the judicially ascertained state of property in the village at the time, and not deduced from the record of a former year, as is ordinarily the case. The opportunity will not have been lost of instructing the putwarri in the discharge of their duties, and of pointing out to the people how much their welfare depends on themselves understanding the putwarri's accounts, and being careful to ensure their accuracy. If the people do not seem willing at first to re-measure their estates and correct their records at their own expense, it may be necessary to apply to superior authority for permission to aid the work on the part of Government, by charging, in the contingent bill, a part or the whole of the expense in some mouzahs, where the people are the poorest, or the most averse to the proceeding. It has

been found in some districts, that the putwarris may be instructed with little difficulty to measure the land, prepare field maps, and perform all the work of experienced ameenas.

The resolution of Government, referred to in the 247th para., as issued on the 12th September, 1848, confers upon all Collectors and Deputy Collectors, in these provinces, the power of "completing the record of rights in land, which should have been made at the time of settlement, and to correct the existing record, whenever it is found at variance with fact." This involves the exercise, under Regulations VII. of 1822, and IX. of 1833, of a large discretion; and where exercised with the care and caution inculcated by the Lieutenant-Governor, there is no reason to believe that results other than the most beneficial have followed. Yet the indiscriminate appointment to the duty of all Collectors and Deputy Collectors, irrespective of their fitness and capacity for it, has led, it may be feared, to the too summary, and sometimes careless exercise of powers, which involve deeply important questions of property and possession.

During the last year of his administration, Mr. Thomason put every effort in force to introduce into his jurisdiction the system so admirably devised and matured in the Punjab, by which village putwarris are enabled, with rude implements, and yet with a degree of scientific accuracy, to survey their boundaries, and protract their fields upon scale. He at once perceived the vast advantages of the scheme in providing a simple and uncostly machinery, by which the records might not only be cured of the defects of the original survey and settlement, but made effectually to keep pace with the busy changes of time. He regarded it also as an important step in native education, and endeavoured to connect it with the system of village schools under Mr. H. S. Reid's care. We have here a fine instance, at the close of his career, of readiness to recognize means contrived by others, and of superiority to prejudice in casting aside the older system, which had grown up under his hands, and heartily and thankfully adopting the new.

There is but one other point in his Revenue Administration, to which we shall specifically refer: it is the position of *Talookdars*, that is, of persons claiming one or more villages, or a large tract of villages, in virtue of a superior right by conquest, by submission of the people, or by imperial grant. The claim is frequently contested by the village residents under the title of *Zemindars*, *Biswahdars*, or *Mocuddums*. The utmost variety of opinion has divided the revenue authorities as to which of these parties is best entitled to be acknowledged proprietor. It was

at last ruled, with the concurrence of the Sudder Court, that it is possible for two species of proprietary right, differing essentially in kind, to co-exist in the same village,—that of Talookdar as *superior*, that of Biswahdar or Mocuddum as *inferior*. The law leaves it in the discretion of the executive power to decide with which, among any number of proprietors, the settlement (involving the management of the estate) shall be made. Those who leant to the Talukdar, recognized *him* as either sole Zemindar, or as the manager, with the Biswahdars holding dependently of him:—those again who leant to the Biswahdars, either installed them in exclusive proprietary right, or acknowledging the title of the superior, set him aside with a money allowance, and concluded all the fiscal arrangements direct with the inferior proprietors. Mr. Thomason belonged to the latter number; and as his earnest spirit never suffered him to indulge in half measures, but led him to follow out his principles to their extreme limit of appliance, it was held by some (who sided with neither of the extreme parties,) that in anxiety to do justice to the claims of the Biswahdars, he was backward to acknowledge the just rights, or fulfil the reasonable expectations, of the Talukdars. This bias may be perceived in his decision, embodied in an elaborate minute recorded early in his government, by which the standard of remuneration to excluded Talukdars was reduced, after the death of incumbents, from 22½ per cent. to 10 per cent. upon the Government Juma.\* Similar principles guided him in the settlement of resumed rent-free lands, in which the claims of the resident community, wherever supported by any vestige of proprietary possession, were preferred, to the exclusion of the Maafidars. But in this instance, we have little sympathy with the excluded party, for the former Government in conferring the maaf tenure of lands already occupied, could evidently dispose of its own right alone to the imperial share of the produce, and not of any further interests which remained, or ought to have remained, unaffected by the grant.

Time would fail, if we were to refer in any detail to the excellencies of Mr. Thomason's Revenue Administration—to some of the most striking despatches, for instance, in which he

\* The minute is dated the 17th January, 1844. The question was long before the Court of Directors, whose decision Mr. Thomason awaited, though with full persuasion of the justice of the act, yet with some doubt as to the result. The Court eventually disallowed the reduction during the currency of the settlement, wherever it was not borne out by express stipulation, but decreed that it should thereafter take effect.

It is remarkable that this order arrived only a few weeks after Mr. Thomason's demise.

provided for an equable and moderate assessment ; for an efficient distribution of establishments ; for the convenient adjustment of intermingled boundaries and jurisdiction ; for the due enforcement of the customs revenue (which under him reached an unwonted prosperity) ; for the preparation of district maps, English and vernacular, showing every village boundary ; for perfecting the system of proprietary records, and rendering them accessible to the public ; for the survey and disposal of waste lands ; for the settlement of disputed rights ; for encouraging industry and the investment of capital by the conferment of a good title where none existed ; for the improvement and elevation, in fine, of each branch of that complicated machinery, through which the Indian Collector works upon the people. It will readily be imagined from what has been said, that his administration was vigorous and singularly successful ; that while it descended to the minutest detail, it equally grasped the most comprehensive results ; and that not only its current concerns were conducted on a liberal and sagacious policy, but that the provident eye of the Lieut.-Governor, seeing in advance of the present, laid down a mass of enlightened principles—principles which, if duly observed, cannot fail to guide the future enquirer, and to extend the blessings of his administration far beyond the influence of his own immediate acts.\*

The Department of PUBLIC WORKS is the next we shall refer to, as peculiarly prominent under Mr. Thomason's Government. Endowed with a taste for mathematics, and with an engineering eye, he assumed a more decided authoritative part in all public works undertaken or proposed, than an unprofessional person would in general be warranted to take. Towards the remodelling of the Department of Public Works, which, instead of the dilatory and feeble machinery of a Board, should give him the prompt counsel and energetic supervision

\* For some years he had been engaged upon a "Revenue Code," embracing the principles and procedure enunciated in the *Directions*, and followed in our present system of revenue administration. He had advanced a considerable way upon this work, when he was obliged by other occupations to abandon it. It is replete with sound principles, and the dictates of much experience and judgment.

Mr. Thomason's fame, as a Revenue Administrator, was recognized and done homage to, without the bounds of his own Government. He was consulted by the Administrators of other territories, whose condition widely differed from the North Western Provinces ; and from whatever quarter, whether from Arracan, from Madras, or from the Punjab, enquiries came, they received the same prompt attention and ingenious solution. Some detailed and careful reasoning, founded upon a reference of the description from Salem, a district in Madras, shows that if he had been spared he would have gone to that Presidency, ready and able to cope with the difficult revenue questions which perplex the Government.

of an able engineer in immediate connexion at once with himself and with all the works in progress, he wistfully looked as a great onward step, both for the improvement of the country and for relieving the Government of a professional responsibility hardly attaching to its position.\* He was not spared to see that change; for even yet it only looms in the distance, though we trust its realization draws speedily near. Deprived of a professional and responsible counsellor, Mr. Thomson did not shrink from assuming the exercise of immediate and independent action wherever necessary. \*His admirable skill was manifest in the almost intuitive perception of the practicability and usefulness, or otherwise, of any project laid before him. After a deliberate survey of the plans and proposals, he promptly admitted or rejected the scheme. If acknowledged to be useful, and yet perhaps immature and uncertain in its details, directions would be given for further enquiry and developement; the papers, if sufficiently important, would be published, and discussion invited;† or the whole project would be thrown into the hands of some one of undoubted capacity, either to work into shape or to carry into effect. To every officer connected with the civil administration of the North West Provinces, numerous instances will occur of important works brought to a successful issue by such happy management. He particularly watched over the proceedings of the Road and Ferry Fund Committees, and liberally fostered every useful scheme they devised. His own fertile and ceaselessly-working mind not unfrequently itself originated conceptions, which were either at once carried out, or commended to the attention

\* In a despatch to the Government of India, dated the 7th June, 1847, urging the appointment of a Chief Engineer, with reference to Lord Hardinge's sanction of an unlimited expenditure for the Ganges Canal, Mr. Thomson thus describes his position as Lieut. Governor:—

"The necessary effect of the present state of things, is that in the superintendence of many public works, the Lieut.-Governor is thrown entirely on his own resources. Works involving much engineering skill are at present under construction in Rohilkhand, in Agra, in Nimar, as well as all over the country, under the Magistrates and Local Committees, and in forming an opinion upon these, the Lieut.-Governor is forced to depend upon his own knowledge, or the casual assistance which personal friends magnanimously afford. But he has no fixed responsible adviser, to whom he could at all times authoritatively refer, and on whose judgment he could implicitly rely."

We conceive that the strong, but just, statement of the case contained in this address, was effectual in bringing the subject to the favorable notice it is now receiving from a liberal administration.

† By way of illustration we may refer to a *Report on the High Road between Mhow and Saugor*, lately issued from the Agra Press, with correspondence regarding a raised, but not installed, track proposed by Capt. Lake. The Lieut.-Governor's remarks, embodied in the concluding letter from the Agra Government, dated the 26th August, 1853, will furnish a specimen of the usual and every-day orders elicited by proposals of this description. The support of the proposed line by tolls, and the necessity of obtaining the co-operation of native states, are prominently noticed

and enquiries of the local officers. Thus during the past year, he projected two roads, one joining Pilibheet with Agra, by a line running through Bareilly and Budaon, the other uniting the Sangor territories with the Doab, via Kallinjer in the Banda district; so as to open up to fertile but ill accessible tracts, a new and large drain for their commodities.\* To the Bombay and Agra road, though cramped by limited resources, he devoted a minute attention; and one of his latest acts was to secure the approval of the Supreme Government to a scheme, by which, at increased expense, it will be rendered greatly more effective. His proposals also regarding the Mirzapore Deccan road, were carefully matured, and if carried out, would place it (though at a great expenditure,) almost upon the footing of the grand trunk line. He took much interest in the opening of a good approach over the Tewalick range to Dera and Mussoorie, and both by public aid and private suggestion, sought to forward the undertaking. These are mentioned but as specimens: to enumerate all the important works which he originated or materially aided, would swell this article beyond all reasonable bounds.

The Grand Trunk Road, however, demands some special remarks. Its excellent condition is mainly owing to the arrangements for constant supervision enforced by the late Lieut.-Governor. Under his sanction, small bungalows have been erected at short distances for the shelter of the overseers; and without these, frequent visits and effectual control over the native workmen, during the severity of the hot and rainy seasons, would have been impossible. His liberal policy provided a wide margin to the line, both for its own works, and the protection of the land-holders from encroachment. Serious difficulty occurs in procuring *kunkur* or metal, from lands owned by private individuals; and here the operations of the Engineers were facilitated by his wise and consistent counsels. In widening the road and bridges, in straightening and enlarging its passage through crowded towns and bazars, as well as in various minor arrangements for the accommodation of the trains of waggons and carriages which move upon it, he had of late instituted many marked improvements.

\* The second instance here quoted, presents a characteristic example of the mode in which Mr. Thomason treasured up, for years, the embryo of a likely scheme, till the time had arrived for its execution. The idea of the Jubbulpore road through Banda was started by Lieut. Briggs of the Engineer Corps, and communicated to Mr. Thomason in a private note, written in 1848. The public finances, or other considerations, prevented the immediate adoption of the project; but the letter was carefully treasured, and now that obstacles to its completion were removed, was printed and circulated to all the authorities concerned, with a letter inviting suggestions for the promotion of the design.

But the chief advance consists in the admirable protective measures, which enable the thousands of travellers to pass in security along this road, under the guardianship of a regular patrol, stationed at every two miles at police posts.\* Encamping grounds for the accommodation of troops marching on the line have also been set aside, and marked off at convenient distances; and store-houses of wood and provisions erected on the spot.† Thus not only the troops themselves march with greater comfort, but the advent of a regiment is not now (what we can recollect it within the last ten or twelve years to have been,) a signal to the tehseeldari myrmidons for extortion and oppression, enabling them to levy subsidies of grain, and to fell the cherished trees of the people, under pretence of supplying the troops with fire-wood and provisions. Mr. Robert Montgomery has much of the credit of maturing the scheme, and Lieut.-Colonel Steel, C. B., (one of the most willing of Mr. Thomason's working staff,) has ably carried it out; but both needed the guiding hand of their master.‡ Where the system is worked with any degree of attention, it is hardly possible that oppression of the kind alluded to can again occur.

To WORKS OF IRRIGATION, where engineering skill is employed, directly to enhance the productive value of the soil,

\* One of his late acts was to organize from the Ferry Funds, (which he regarded as legitimately applicable to the guarding of the main roads,) a large augmentation of the chowkidari force upon the Grand Trunk line. The despatch containing this order, with detailed instructions regarding the chowkidars, was printed and circulated.

† The encamping grounds, it has been Mr. Thomason's especial care to have set apart in every line by which troops are accustomed to march, and their advantages are patent, as a simple expedient at once for convenience, and for preventing encroachment on private lands and fields. The store-houses, however, can only be put in full operation, where the demand is sufficient to encourage speculators to contract for the requisite sumuli.

‡ See *Report of the Arrangements made for the Grand Trunk Road, in the Cawnpore district*, by R. MONTGOMERY, Esq., C. S., Agra, 1849. Several of Colonel Steel's *Reports on the Progress of the Arrangements* have been published, and will show what has been done, as well as the great need that existed for reform.

Although the rules of the Supreme Government have all along been most stringent for the full payment of all carriage, provisions, wood, &c., required by troops, it was notorious that they were in great measure unheeded; and, indeed, so long as good arrangements on the part of the Civil Officers are not in force, one can hardly blame the half-famished sepoy, jaded by a long and weary march, for carrying off summarily the means of satisfying his hunger. We have seen the stores of wood, the scene of a regular storm, carried away without the thought of payment, to the sad dismay of the unfortunate supplier. The natural consequence was, that the loss fell eventually on the surrounding villages. Such practices are now unknown.

To make the wise rules of the Government of India universally known, both for the warning of the military and encouragement of the Civil Officials, Mr. Thomason compiled with great care all the orders and rules bearing on the subject, and published them under the title, *Selected orders, Civil and Military, regarding March of Troops, the Mode of supplying them with Carriage, Provisions, &c.*, published by order of the Honorable Lieut.-Governor, N. W. P. Agra, 1849.



the comfort of the people, and their security from the ravages of famine, Mr. Thomason devoted, as it behoved an Indian Governor, an unusual share of his attention. Among his miscellaneous projects, we may allude to the survey of the environs of Delhi, organized with the object of reviving the ancient embankments, of which traces still remain, as well as of procuring a record of archaeological interest, regarding the venerable capital of India. His efforts for draining the adjacent extensive swamp of Nujjufgurh, were, in the face of great difficulties, unremitting, and though not yet entirely successful, have still received their reward in the rich crops covering the soil, which has been laid bare by the escape of a portion of the waters. The operations in Ajmere have been explained to the public, both of England and of India, in *Colonel Dixon's Sketch of Mairwara*,\* a work which owes its origin to the same suggesting mind that aided and forwarded the admirable measures there recorded. In an opposite direction, among the forests of the Rohilkhund Terai, and within sight of the snowy Himalayas, the energetic proceedings of Captain Jones for draining the marshy lands of that exuberant but neglected tract, and turning its precious but hitherto wasted streams to the purposes of irrigation, were watched and directed with equal care.†

The Nugeena canal in Bijnore, and the canals of the Dera Doon, no less than their greater and more important rivals, the Eastern and Western Jumna canals, engaged his lively interest. He was ever on the watch for suggestions to improve their efficiency; and it is but within a few months, that his advocacy secured the approval of the Governor-General and the Court of Directors to a scheme upon a grand scale for straightening, at an expense of above a lakh and a

\* See a review of this work in *Calcutta Review*, No XXX., Art. IX.

† See *Calcutta Review*, No. IX, Art. III.

‡ A running memorandum, we believe, of the progress of each work in repaying its outlay, was regularly kept up among his private memoranda.

During the past year, Mr. Thomason officially called the attention of Colonel Caulley to some valuable suggestions made privately by him more than five years before. We quote from this despatch, as it is another striking instance of the care with which schemes once started were treasured up, and reserved for the proper opportunity:—

"The project of a new canal from the Song river is a promising one. But there is another project of drawing water from the Buldi river, above the Sunadurra, which once engaged attention, but has apparently now been lost sight of. The notice of this project is contained in a private note from yourself, dated March 9th, 1848. It has been carefully kept for many years, and is now placed on record to preserve it from oblivion." Colonel Caulley is then requested to have both worked out, and estimates framed, so that the report might be printed, "and remain for execution, when money and agency are forthcoming." His attention is also called to further suggestions made in a pamphlet published also under Mr. Thomason's authority—*Notes and Memoranda on the Water Courses in the Dera Doon*, by Captain Caulley, 1845.

half of rupees, the tortuous course of a portion of the Eastern Jumna Canal, thus greatly adding to its efficiency, and diminishing the cost of its maintenance.\*

Regarding these subjects, and indeed upon all engineering questions, Mr. Thomason placed a well-deserved and unlimited confidence in Lieut.-Colonel Cautley, the Superintendent of Canals in the North West Provinces, and the director of that great work, the GANGES CANAL, which is the creation of his own genius. If interested in the comparatively puny aqueducts above alluded to, it may well be imagined that this truly imperial undertaking called forth the full tide of the late Lieut.-Governor's solicitude. Deeply persuaded of its vast importance, both in adding to the resources of the kingdom, and ameliorating throughout an immense extent of country, the horror of those famines to which the North West Provinces, from their uncertain climate, must be constantly liable, he acted upon the principle that all lesser interests may well bend before this object of paramount necessity. It was not that he assisted either in devising or in perfecting any of the engineering details: the merit of originating the grand conception, and of developing its various parts, belongs to Colonel Cautley, and to him alone. But to Mr. Thomason does belong the credit, which of itself would have rendered his administration famous, of grasping the idea in all its largeness and importance, and of representing the object, and advocating the claims of the work in so powerful a manner, (at the time when a stinted expenditure would have starved into insignificance the noble design, and a mistaken policy have reduced it to a mere boat-canal,) that the Government were persuaded to remove the restrictions imposed by Lord Ellenborough, the merits of the undertaking were fully recognized, and Colonel Cautley allowed a discretionary command of means, without bound or restriction.

The Ganges canal is so closely connected with the administration now under review, and its approaching opening invests it with so much present attraction, that our readers will probably not be unwilling to possess a short abstract of its history.

On the 23rd of May, 1838, Colonel Cautley submitted to the

\* As a first step towards carrying through this great work, the Superintendent was invited to mature the design and to prepare a report upon it, in a popular form, comprehensible by unprofessional readers. Permanency and publicity were given to the result of this suggestion, which will be found printed under the following title—*Notes on the Levels of the Eastern Jumna Canal, explanatory of a Project for completing the Regulation of the Slope of the Canal bed, 1st May, 1852, Agra, by Lieut. W. L. Morton, Superintendent of the Eastern Jumna Canals.*

Government of the North West Provinces, a series of levels taken by him a year or two before, with a view to test the possibility of pouring, for purposes of irrigation, a flood of water from the Ganges below Hurdwar into the Kali Nuddi at Bolundshukur. Though this was reported to be impracticable, yet the idea of the Ganges canal had dawned upon his mind, and he solicited authority to carry on his investigations for supplying water to the "Mozuffernugger, Sirdana, and Meerut districts.\*" The reply, written by Mr. Thomason, under Lord Auckland's authority, states that "His Lordship is not prepared to expect much success in any attempt to draw a canal from the right bank of the Ganges. If, however, the object could be attained, the public benefit would be very great. It appears from Captain Cautley's letter, that the question can easily be set at rest, and it is highly desirable that it should be so without delay." The Military Board were accordingly instructed to give Captain Cautley a small establishment to prosecute his enquiries.

In 1840, Mr. Thomason, again at the Secretariat post, expressed to Captain Cautley, the Hon'ble Mr. Robertson's gratification at the result of his investigations, which were printed for general information. In 1841, Mr. Robertson recorded an enlightened and elaborate minute respecting the importance of the projected canal, "the practicability of which had, through Captain Cautley's unwearied zeal and talent, been satisfactorily established," and submitted to Lord Auckland repeated addresses, pressing the undertaking upon the Government. In the preparation of these, Mr. Thomason appears to have assisted.

On the 1st September, 1841, the Court of Directors, upon a review of the whole question, and guided by the recommendation of the Indian Government, accorded their liberal sanction to the project, estimated at above a million sterling; and Captain Cautley with vigor commenced the work. But a change soon came over the spirit of the Government; for upon the 29th April, 1842, Lord Ellenborough, from the

\* A little sketch accompanies and illustrates this report, and in it a pencil dotted line, marked in Colonel Cautley's writing, the "*probable direction of head,*" to pass by Roorkee, exhibits the singular sagacity of that distinguished Engineer, in *seeing* as it were, where other men conjecture and calculate.

It is curious to observe, that in the reply of Government, another object for which the establishment was also granted, is regarded as a much more likely and promising scheme, viz., a proposal to draw off *Rybhuis* (or minor water-courses) from the chief rivers in the Upper Doab. These enquiries seem to have originated in a scheme of Captain Debede for irrigating from the Hindun and Kali Nuddi, but it was Colonel John Colvin, C. B., the Superintendent of Canals preceding Colonel Cautley, who left the idea of a canal from the Ganges as a legacy to his successor.—*Preface to Col. Cautley's Report on the Central Doab Canal, 12th May, 1840.*

military bureau, directed the suspension of existing arrangements, on account of financial and *other* considerations; and, if this were capable of misconstruction, two months later (21st June, 1842), he issued positive orders from the Civil department, that pending "a further test to the scientific and financial calculations on which the scheme was based, all further expenditure was to be discontinued." It was represented, however, by the Agra Government, that to close at once all the progressing operations, would be to involve the state in a serious loss; and the Governor-General therefore consented (17th September, 1842), that existing works might be carried on, but at the paltry expenditure of two lakhs in the year.

Things continued on this unsatisfactory footing till the beginning of 1844, Captain Cautley being obliged, from the want of subordinate agency, to conduct with his own hands the drudgery of surveying levels and such like work. It was one of Mr. Thomason's early acts as Lieut.-Governor to remonstrate strongly (10th February, 1844) against this most uneconomical and extravagant misuse of the director's time and talents:—a waste of directing energy, which no private Company, acting simply for their own benefit, would have incurred. The scanty aid conceded by Lord Ellenborough in reply, was given grudgingly, and accompanied by the following strange misconception:—"It is," His Lordship said, "*with the view of making a canal of NAVIGATION, that the project has been sanctioned, and that sums for constructing it have been granted. IRRIGATION is to be a SECONDARY object, towards which, after the first object has been effected, the surplus waters are to be applied. His Lordship desires that this may be continually held in view.*" It is well that this nobleman had neutralized these false views, by the appointment, as his lieutenant, of an officer who would not shrink from exposing their fallacy; else the Ganges canal, for the chief end of its existence, might have sunk into utter inefficiency.

Mr. Thomason perceived the critical position, and addressed himself with determination to do battle for the canal. He visited the works, and after becoming thoroughly acquainted with their state, and the folly of prosecuting them in the present sluggish fashion, he promptly addressed the Governor-General, 11th April, 1844, and boldly pleaded the issue whether His Lordship's limit could be justified upon any grounds, either of sound policy, of economy, or of humanity. Hitherto this limit had not done much injury, for in the beginning of a great work, it is long before a sufficient supply of artizans

and laborers can be procured. Now, however, "the fame of the work had spread;" carpenters, masons, artificers, laborers, had congregated from the most distant quarters—Oudh, Bhuttee, Marwara, &c. If the restriction be maintained, these must go away, "and the conductors of the work be discredited." Viewed in a *political* aspect, "the national reputation was pledged to its success." The many thousands assembled at the Hurdwar fair had seen the State "embarked in a gigantic undertaking," to turn the Ganges into the Doab; and if the Government were baffled in the work, the prestige of our power and credit would be shaken.\* Again, the Government was bound by motives of *humanity* not to delay a work certified as an effectual means of saving a great tract of land from famine; yet the present sluggish rate would not complete this work within thirty or forty years to come, during the whole of which period the country would be abandoned to the inroads of drought and all its unmitigated horrors.† Mere *economy* demanded loudly that the operations should be expedited, in order that the expense of costly supervision might be saved. The two lakhs now expended were no more than the annual net income received direct from the Jumna canals. "Hitherto the Government have advanced nothing towards the Ganges canal from the general resources of the State. Notwithstanding the proof daily before their eyes of the benefits arising from canals, they have just done sufficient to commit themselves to the undertaking, but have shrunk from embarking in it with that zeal and determination which will bring its benefits within their reach." The Governor-General, who could lavish his thousands upon the Somnath gates, and "the favorite sweetmeat" of the sepoy, was moved by this potent reasoning to grant the petty subsidy of ONE lakh more for one year!

\* This was a view which had evidently taken much hold of his mind; for at the close of the following year, in reply to enquiries from the Court of Directors, he writes:—

"In the face of the whole Hindu population, assembled at the great Koomb" (or duodecennial,) "fair, the British nation stood pledged to this great work, gigantic in itself, but invested with peculiar importance in the eyes of our subjects from its connection with their sacred river, and favorite place of pilgrimage."

† Shortly after this despatch, Mr. Thomason addressed the Military Board on another aspect of this question. Sound policy demanded that the works should be substantial and secure, and the superintendence most effective; for after a canal had once come into full play, and had caused in its vicinity a vast increase of population, corresponding with the increased productiveness of the soil, the failure of water arising from any oversight or blunder of the Engineers, must involve the unsuspecting people in all the horrors of an *artificial* famine. (*Letter dated 21st May, 1844.*) This is a most serious aspect of the case, and proves the urgent necessity of the works being efficiently officered, both as respects the number and qualifications of the supervisors.

But the masterly State paper, of which we have given a sketch, was to receive a worthier treatment from more discriminating hands. In 1845, Lord Hardinge postponed the more vigorous prosecution of the work, simply from sanatory considerations, in expectation of the report of a committee appointed to investigate the effect of canal irrigation upon the healthiness of the adjacent country. The Sutlej campaign called away Major Baker (who occupied the place of Major Cautley while in England,) both from this committee and the canal. But the glorious success of our arms had no sooner freed Lord Hardinge from the cares of the field, than he nobly compensated for all the inaction, illiberality, and error that had preceded.

In March, 1847, Lord Hardinge visited the stupendous works of the Solani aqueduct, and having thoroughly entered into all Mr. Thomson's sentiments, shortly after recorded a minute which reflects honor on his Lordship's name. He abandoned navigation, except as a subsidiary object, and enunciated the principle that irrigation was the grand design, before which every thing must bend; and he declared himself ready to authorize the twenty lakhs a year, named by Major Baker, nay to sanction "*as large a sum for future years as the director could expend with a due regard to economy.*"\*

The battle was now won. Minor lets and hindrances were easily overcome.† In 1850 the enhanced estimate of above a million and a half sterling was cheerfully passed by the Hon'ble Court. And thus, under the liberal policy of the enlightened nobleman now presiding over the Government of India, and under the careful patronage of his Lieut.-Governor, who at every check or difficulty was ready to advocate before his chief the claims of the canal, or to solve perplexities by his own suggestions, the magnificent work has progressed apace till the present day, when, on the verge of completion, the guiding and protecting hand, scarcely now required more, has been suddenly removed. Mr. Thomason was to have been present at the formal opening of the canal in the ensuing spring: but his work was done. And Colonel Cautley cannot but feel that the spirit which imparted life and energy,

\* Minute by Lord Hardinge, dated 20th April, 1847.

† About the close of 1847, both the Court of Directors and the Governor-General (Lord Hardinge,) in view of the mighty proceedings in progress, expressed some hesitation; but it was readily removed by the powerful representations of the Lieut.-Governor. The revised estimate, ungrudgingly passed by the Court of Directors, in their despatch dated the 2nd June, 1852, amounts to the enormous sum of Rs. 1,55,48,100. Mr. Thomason used, we believe, constantly to keep running accounts of the advancing expenditure among his private memoranda.

and success to his great design, has departed, just as the canal was about to pour in millions of rivulets across the vast plain of the Doab its vivifying flood of luxuriance and plenty.

While Mr. Thomason was only the advocate and helper of the Ganges canal, he was the originator of the **ENGINEERING COLLEGE AT ROORKEE**.

Mr. Thomason was from the first deeply impressed with the necessity of providing, for the multitude of public works throughout the country, a staff of native engineers, possessing both professional knowledge and experience. In the beginning of 1845, he projected a scheme by which the most advanced pupils of the Agra and Delhi Colleges, or other candidates, might, under the guidance of Lieut. Baird Smith, and amid the works of the Eastern Jumna canal, add to their theoretical attainments a sound practical acquaintance with engineering. When the details were matured, the Lieut.-Governor obtained, but not without repeated appeals, permission to extend, "by way of experiment," the benefits of the proposal to three or four qualified youths.\* Upon this was grounded the notification of the 9th October, 1845, constituting "a class of officers, to be denominated *Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers*." The plan was found to work so well, that their number was increased from four to twenty.†

After Lord Hardinge had resolved on the vigorous prosecution of the Ganges canal, Mr. Thomason at once perceived how this great undertaking might itself prove the nursery of such an engineering body as he longed to raise up from amongst the indigenous materials of the country. He lost no time in developing the idea, and on the 23rd September, 1847, laid his proposal before the Supreme Government.‡ He dwelt

\* It was in danger of being shelved along with a proposition of the Educational Department in Bengal, for the encouragement of Civil Engineering amongst the natives. But Mr. Thomason vindicated the special claims and advantages of the North Western Provinces as a Civil Engineering School.

† On the 22nd December, 1846.

‡ Colonel Cantley had apprehended the same idea so early as 1843, when, applying for a large number of well-educated and skilful artificers, he added that "they will not only be useful in themselves, but will establish a school for the ultimate supply of efficient workmen to the whole line of the canal." What is here proposed for the canal, Mr. Thomason organized for the whole of Hindustan.

The same letter suggests the further idea of work-shops, &c., likewise followed out by Mr. Thomason, "We shall require numerous workshops, store-rooms, &c., at Roorkee, which place I intend to establish as the head-quarters of the Ganges canal."—he proceeds to recount the plans of workshops, model-rooms, &c., which his busy and practical mind had already designed.—*Letter dated October 4, 1843.*

at great length on the requirements of the country—surveys, irrigation, application of water power, navigation, roads, bridges, railways—objects for all of which it is impossible to provide European engineering skill. He appealed to the Government to avail themselves of the present opportunity to form a native class:—

The establishment now forming at Roorkee, near the Solani aqueduct on the Ganges canal, affords peculiar facilities for instructing Civil Engineers. There are large workshops, and extensive and most important structures in course of formation. There are also a library and a model-room. Above all a number of scientific and experienced Engineer Officers are constantly assembled on the spot, or occasionally resorting thither.

These officers, however, all have their appropriate and engrossing duties to perform, and cannot give time for that careful and systematic instruction which is necessary for the formation of an expert Civil Engineer.

On these accounts the Lieut.-Governor would propose the establishment at Roorkee of an Institution for the education of Civil Engineers, which should be immediately under the direction of the Local Government in the Educational Department.

In conformity with this proposal, which was warmly supported by the Governor-General, the College was opened on the 1st of January, 1848, for the instruction both of Natives and of European soldiers, and Non-commissioned Officers.

In 1851, persuaded of the success of his scheme, and fortified by the support of the Committee upon the system of Public Works,\* and of Sir Charles Napier,† Mr. Thomason projected a vast enlargement of the original plan, so as to include not only greater numbers of natives and soldiers, but likewise Commissioned Officers, both of the Royal and Company's services; the establishment of a dépôt and work-shop for the repair of surveying and other scientific instruments;‡ a museum of economic geology, an observatory, a printing establishment, and other appurtenances to render the institution effective. These propositions were printed by His Honor in a brochure and submitted to the Governor-General, who accorded to them his hearty support. On the 2nd June, 1852,

\* See their Report dated March 5, 1851.

† "The suggestion," writes Mr. Thomason, "of admitting to the College Commissioned Officers of both services, is due to His Excellency General Sir Charles Napier, in communication with whom the present scheme has been drawn out." Its ground-work is the same as that of the senior department of the Military College at Sandhurst, adapted to the Indian Army.—*Address to the Government of India, dated 28th August, 1850.*—See also page 17 of the "*Account of Roorkee.*"

‡ This is a desideratum of more importance than at first sight might appear, in a country where there are no private establishments in which such instruments might be repaired. Their injury or disorder is now a continual obstacle to the advance of scientific enquiry and tuition.



the Court of Directors communicated their sanction, and the whole scheme is now being carried into effect.

The influence which these establishments will have in the enlightenment of India and developement of her resources, in the progress of civilization and scientific enquiry, and in the advancement of the officers and soldiers of our army, cannot be over-estimated; and the credit of the whole belongs to Mr. Thomason. He naturally regarded the institution with a peculiar interest, and watched over it with a sort of parental pride and solicitude. The extensive quadrangle,\* now being erected to complete the enlarged design, was to have been opened by him at the close of the following year, thus constituting, as it were, the last public act of his official career.

To the JUDICIAL AND CRIMINAL DEPARTMENT of his Government, the attention of Mr. Thomason was less directed than to the rest of his duties. We cannot point in it, as we can in almost every other, to any large measure of reform (excepting, *perhaps*, the Grand Trunk Road police,) involving either present great results, or the germ of future improvement. This was partly owing to the nature of the subject, which did not involve the abstract principles with which he delighted to work, or any national institutions on which his conservative mind loved to engraft his forward movements. At one point, where those institutions were approached, they trammelled, rather than assisted, his views. The chowkidar must belong to the *Village Community*: he must be remunerated by a small holding of the village lands: he must be the servant of the Zemindar: salary paid in cash direct from Government, would loosen the Zemindar's hold upon him; while a close surveillance of his proceedings would interfere with the independent action of the village institution. Perhaps such may be a specimen of all the reasons for which he shrank from a reform of our police system.

But it was impossible for a mind like his of whom we write, to preside over the Judicial Administration of the country, without introducing many improvements, and infusing a vigor into all its movements. The distribution of his agency was, for the most part, admirable;† the same prompt and searching

\* See the elevation and ground-plan at page 20 of the *Account of Rooh ee*.

† In judging of this question, it must be remembered that the covenanted materials were not of his own choosing. His task was to make the arrangement of them best suited for the good of the country. If sometimes parties who had proved inefficient in the magisterial and revenue charge of a *district* were readily

orders were daily issued as in the Revenue Department. A careful amendment of local jurisdiction was effected wherever ill arrangement or intermixture impeded the administration of justice; and the subordinate agency was revised for the more efficient discharge of its duty. The police divisions were frequently enlarged, and from the saving effected by reduction in number, the salary of the police officers was proportionally increased. The district daks were fostered by him. The management of the jails throughout the country was improved; and the Central Prison at Agra, under inspectors judiciously selected and guided by the Lieut.-Governor, has made an advance in prison discipline hitherto unknown in India.

A special and important feature of the administration is the extensive employment of Revenue officers in police and judicial posts. The tehseeldars have, in many districts, been invested with the power of daroga, and from their known respectability and character, have imparted a new stamp of credit and confidence to the police proceedings. So every Deputy Collector is constituted likewise a Deputy Magistrate, and numerous tehseeldars throughout the country have been installed in the same commanding position. The movement is undoubtedly in the right direction; but the conferment of magisterial powers has, probably, been too indiscriminate, and without a sufficient guarantee of character, of the

advanced to the Judicial Bench, it must be remembered that the same points which impair a Magistrate's usefulness (as want of promptitude and personal activity,) do not, in an equal degree, affect a Judge, and that the hesitancy, which often accompanies a high deliberative faculty, is directly prejudicial to the energetic management of a district. Nevertheless, it is possible that Mr. Thomason's leaning towards the Revenue Department may have induced him to favor it, upon the whole, with better officers than the Judicial.

It has been asserted in some of the public prints, that Mr. Thomason had a bias to promote men of a strong religious principle. No doubt, a consistent profession of religion had its weight among other qualities, in his estimate of a man's character, as profligacy or dishonesty had its share also. But as far as official requirements are concerned, we deny that a profession of religion or the reverse was an element which he took into consideration, in the distribution of patronage. High and honorable principle was the point he looked to, and wherever he found that, the only question with him for debate was the qualification of the candidates and their respective fitness for office. It is impossible that any unprejudiced man acquainted with the society of Agra, and with the chief appointments held there within the last half-dozen years, could for a moment entertain the charge. As Mr. Thomason regarded no part of his duty more onerous and unpleasant than the distribution of patronage, so we are assured that there was none which he exercised with a greater deliberation, or endeavored to discharge with a more single eye to the welfare of the state, or a sternness and disregard of private friendship, feeling, and partiality.

knowledge required for the discharge of such grave functions, affecting everywhere the social body. The point is urged with the greater confidence, because the principle of a test of efficiency has already been conceded in the case of Covenanted Assistants, and there is no reason to stop its application there. A second objection is, that the new functions bring with them no increase of emolument, although they vastly add to the labor and responsibility, as well as to the dignity, of the officer holding them. In one district we have a Deputy Collector with the small and unimportant powers of an assistant; in the adjoining station, his brother Deputy has special powers, involving authority of greater magnitude; in a third, he is a full Magistrate, and cannot only imprison any of Her Majesty's dusky subjects for three years, but visit every Englishman, who commits a trespass, with a fine of 500 rupees, or in default thereof, with two months' imprisonment. In one pergunnah we have a tehseeldar employed solely in the quiet duties of a Revenue Collector; in the next he may have any of the magisterial powers we have just enumerated. Yet all are paid alike, without the slightest reference to their varied responsibilities. Surely this is inexpedient, if it be not unfair, and for a great Government unbecoming. The officer possessing the higher powers may be (and sometimes actually has been) remanded for neglect or misdemeanour to a lower grade of authority, yet no diminution of emolument ensues. Great devotion to his office may be followed by promotion to the higher grade, yet no increase of salary is gained. The service thus loses at once the stimulus to exertion, and the salutary dread of loss and degradation: while both officers and people are taught to regard, without estimation or respect, a power and office which it ought to be our great effort to invest with dignity and with influence. Such a course cannot fail of an injurious effect upon the Government itself.

In one respect, the government of Mr. Thomason has greatly benefitted the Criminal and Judicial Department in common with every other, viz., by the *publications, which under his authority issued from the press*. Of these may be noticed the *Memoir on the Statistics of the North Western Provinces*, by A. Shakespear, Esq., C. S., 1848; containing in a condensed form, the most minute information as to the area, revenues and population of each pergunnah and district. The results of a second census, made also under the careful and minute instructions of the Lieut.-Governor, on the last day

of 1852, have since been published;\* and contain the most valuable and accurate returns yet obtained in India.

In the first year of his government, Mr. Thomason forwarded to every Magistrate and Collector an invitation to throw together all the statistical and general information he could obtain regarding his jurisdiction, to be printed in a volume illustrated by maps and statements. Such a publication, he thought, would "form an official history of each district, and contain all that would enable the public officers of Government to understand the peculiarities of the district, and conduct of the administration." Minute directions were given how to arrange the various matter, statistical, historical, geographical, economical, educational,—regarding the current tenures, rise and fall of families, operation of special measures or laws, effect of the revenue and judicial systems, &c. Few officers have had the energy and skill to work out the plan:† but the *Statistical Report of Cawnpore*, by Mr. Montgomery, illustrates the wisdom of the design, and the usefulness of such a treatise for advancing and facilitating, in every department, the administration of a district. We earnestly hope that the conception will not be lost sight of, till we are furnished with a similar guide and official companion for every district in the provinces.

In other departments, we may notice the *Settlement Misc.* (1847) which forms a specimen of the papers required from first to last in the settlement of each of the prevailing classes of tenure, with a counterpart in English, (also 1847): The *Accountant's Manual*, by C. Allen, Esq., 1847: The *Civil Auditor's Manual*, by T. K. Loyd, Esq., 1851: *Statistics of Indigenuous Education*, by R. Thornton, Esq., 1850; and *Comparative Tables of District Establishments in the North Western Provinces*, by

\* See *Agra Gazette* of October 18th, 1853. The details of this census are now in the press in a volume, by Mr. G. J. Christian, Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue, through the agency of which Board the work was carried out. The instructions for this census were drawn up by Mr. Thomason himself with great pains, and no precaution was omitted for securing perfect accuracy. The whole was accomplished on the night of the 31st of December; and the result was carefully tested by the district officers and their subordinates.

† Only four have been yet published:—

*Statistical Report of the District of Cawnpore*, by R. Montgomery, Esq., C. S., 1849.

*Doitto Doitto Doitto of Goorgaon*, by Alexander Fraser, Esq., C. S., 1849.

*Doitto Doitto Doitto of Futtehpore*, by C. W. Kinloch, Esq., C. S., 1852.

*Doitto Doitto Doitto of Kemaon and Guhwal*, by J. H. Batten, Esq., C. S., 1851.

A Report for Budaon, by Mr. Court, is, we believe, now in the press, and others, more or less answering the objects in view, have been prepared for Agra and Furruckabad.

A. Sakspear, Esq., C.S. 1853.\* These were the immediate results of the instruction or suggestion of the Lieut.-Governor, and have proved, and will long continue to prove, of special use to the public service. It would too greatly extend this article to enumerate the many other treatises of a less formal and elaborate nature: but there is one which we must not pass over. Mr. Thomason constantly met with valuable information and suggestions in miscellaneous reports, or scattered here and there throughout a wide correspondence; such papers had hitherto remained too often unnoticed and unknown, engulfed in the indiscriminate reservoir of all that is good, bad, and indifferent, the Secretariat Record Room. It occurred to him that, though not worthy of *separate* publication, these might yet be thrown together, and published from time to time as *Selections from the Records of the Government*. This work, maintained to the present day, has given a permanent and public form to a vast variety of most useful and suggestive papers on all official subjects, revenue, police, judicial, engineering, statistical; and its practical usefulness has been recognized by the adoption of the same idea (though not precisely on the same principle), by the other Indian Governments.†

We must hasten to conclude this already too extended sketch, by a notice of Mr. Thomason's proceedings in the EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT. As respected colleges and station schools, the chief tendency of his proceedings was to abolish the latter, and to strengthen the former. He found the funds at his disposal inadequate to provide efficiently for both: and he wisely resolved that, instead of a number of ill-officered and unsatisfactory institutions scattered over the country, the Government should have a few large and superior colleges at convenient distances, accessible to each great division of the

\* This work contains a vast fund of official information. The districts and offices are classed according to their comparative difficulty and amount of business: then the salaries and cost of management in each department are compared for each district throughout the provinces. Wherever an office is under-officered, or under-paid, the fact cannot fail to be thus brought to light; and complaints of over-worked amlah, formerly resting too much on the hap-hazard opinion of the recommending officer, can now be easily tested by the reasonable ground of comparison with similar business and establishments elsewhere.

† Almost all the papers that have issued under the name of "*Selections*" from the other Governments, have been complete and formal reports, which, under any circumstances, would have been published by the Government of the North-Western Provinces separately, without reference to its selections, which were intended for extracts, miscellaneous papers, and scraps, otherwise liable to fall into oblivion. We believe that Mr. Thomason generally indicated with his own hand, the papers or extracts which he desired to publish in this series.

province. It was also his hope that the fields wherever thus abandoned, would be occupied in a more efficient manner by private effort, indigenous as well as foreign.\*

In the management of the Colleges, Mr. Thomason took a constant interest, and when presiding at their public examinations, seldom failed to deliver some pertinent remarks on the bearing of our educational measures, and the manner in which his young audience should improve their opportunities. The original views and erudite labours of Dr. Ballantyne received from him a discriminating and powerful support. He acknowledged the claims which the large section of the nation devoted to the study of Sanscrit possess upon the state, to recognize and foster whatever is true and exalted in their literature; and he had a lively persuasion that when once European learning and philosophy should be presented to the Brāhminical mind in a comprehensible and attractive, because indigenous dress, the influence of the learned pundits upon the people at large would produce results of prodigious moment. He did not neglect the objections which a misapprehension of the Benares system has in some quarters created: but on the contrary encouraged the discussion of its merits among those best qualified to judge. Once convinced, however, of the justness of Dr. Ballantyne's position, he yielded him, despite of narrow-minded or utilitarian opposers, an unflinching support, to which, on the opening of that magnificent structure, the

\* His sentiments on this subject, and their happy fulfilment with respect to one at least of the seminaries thus given up, are expressed in the following extract of an address made by Mr. Thomason at the examination of the Allahabad College, supported by the American Presbyterian Mission, in December, 1852.

"He said that the examination had been listened to with pleasure by all the auditors, but that to himself the display was peculiarly gratifying, because he saw before him the realization of all those anticipations which he had previously formed regarding the institution. A few years ago there was a Government school maintained in Allahabad. It was well endowed by the Government: it was countenanced and encouraged by all the high officers of Government then at the place. But he judged that that, as well as other similar institutions, did not bring a benefit to the state commensurate with the charge they entailed upon it. He felt that they came into competition with other schools, which would probably be maintained by private individuals, without any cost to the state, and that they so far discouraged, rather than promoted, the general cause of education. He therefore abolished those schools, and concentrated the efforts of Government on the improvement of the colleges maintained in our cities, where there was ample room for many educational establishments. He that day witnessed the result of this measure in Allahabad. The number of pupils in the Allahabad Government school was under 100, whilst there were 327 boys on the list of the Mission School. Many of these boys had attained a high proficiency in secular learning, and they also received that which the Government abstained upon principle (and he considered justly,) from imparting—sound and diligent instruction in the truths of Christianity." On this happy result he congratulated the authorities of the college, and paid a high and well-merited compliment to the successful and disinterested labors of the Mission from America.

**BENARES COLLEGE**, raised under his administration, he gave a public and unqualified expression.\*

But the measure which bears the peculiar stamp of Mr. Thomason's mind, and which, perhaps more than any other hitherto devised, will tend to the enlightenment and welfare of India, is the system established by him for encouraging the **VERNACULAR AND INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS** of the country.

In 1845, the Lieut.-Governor forwarded to every Magistrate and Collector in the provinces a circular order, in which, while they were generally charged with fostering the village schools, instructions were conveyed to ascertain and report the extent to which these institutions imparted education to the people. The directions, grounded on the plan pursued by Mr. Adam in Bengal, were, like all others emanating from Mr. Thomason's pen, so clear and practical, that within two or three years, a complete return of the whole educational institutions in the country was obtained.†

In 1846, Mr. Thomason addressed the Supreme Government, stating as the result of these enquiries, that "on an average, less than 5 per cent. of the youths who are of an age to attend school, obtain any instruction, and that instruc-

\* It would be a graceful tribute to the founder of this college to give it his name, and farther to perpetuate that name in Benares by a Scholarship for combined proficiency in Sanscrit Philosophy, and English Literature and Science.

The sentences in which Mr. Thomason alluded in the opening of the college to Dr. Ballantyne's labours, are important, and deserve to be here extracted :—

Dr. Ballantyne assumed charge of the College in the beginning of 1846, "and avowed as his object the formation of a class of pundits, who, skilled in all that is taught in native schools, should also have their minds so tinged with European habits of feeling, as to be pre-eminent amongst their countrymen. In order to accomplish this object, he first himself mastered the Hindu Philosophy, and he ascertained how much of truth there was in it, and where error commenced. He, at the same time, made available to his Pundit pupils, the works of European Philosophers, and showed, by treatises of his own composition, how, advancing from the premises of Hindu Philosophy, the correct conclusions of European Philosophy might be attained. In following this course, he acted in consonance with the whole character of our administration in this country. We have not swept over the country like a torrent, destroying all that it found, and leaving nothing but what itself deposited. Our course has rather been that of a gently swelling inundation, which leaves the former surface undisturbed, and spreads over it a richer mould, from which the vegetation may derive a new verdure, and the landscape possess a beauty which was unknown before.

There is every reason why a similar course should be pursued in philosophy and literature. We have not found the people of this country an ignorant or simple race. They were possessed of a system of Philosophy which we could not ignore. Some persons, in the pride of political superiority may affect to despise it; but it has roused the curiosity and excited the wonder of the learned in all countries of Europe. Dr. Ballantyne's publications enable the most superficial reader to discover that it possesses a depth of thought, a precision of expression, and a subtlety of argument, which are amongst God's choicest gifts to his creatures. These may be misused, but they may also be reclaimed, and devoted to the highest purposes."—*Speech delivered at the opening of the Benares College, on the 11th January, 1846.*

† The first return received was published; *Report on the Indigenous Education in Benares*, by William Muir, Esq., 1846. The whole of the reports were subsequently abstracted in an able resumé of the proceedings by R. Thornton, Esq.:—*Memorandum of the Statistics of Indigenous Education in the North Western Provinces.* In this volume will be found copies of the principal despatches, of which we are here obliged to give necessarily but a limited account.

tion which they do receive, is of a very imperfect kind." He proposed, therefore, at a cost of from two to four lakhs a year, to grant an endowment in land, for the support of a school in every considerable village throughout the country.\* The Court of Directors, while concurring in the necessity for more extended means of district education, justly objected to endowments in land, as likely to become hereditary and inefficient. Such a system would, indeed, have proved cumbrous and unmanageable; it would probably have tended to perpetuate the drowsiness and errors of the native method, without any effective provision for the prospective introduction of truth and energy; and it could only have been the strong attachment of Mr. Thomason to the "Village Communities" of the North West, that led him to its advocacy.

In 1848, Mr. Thomason, taking advantage of the Hon'ble Court's expressed willingness to afford assistance, submitted another plan, in which endowments, either of land or money, were abandoned, and a system for stimulating indigenous schools by "advice, assistance, encouragement" and example, was substituted. Before the close of the year, the sanction of the Court was received to his experimental proposal (supported by the Governor-General,) that the scheme should be tried in a circle of eight districts around Agra, at a yearly expense of Rs. 50,000. The principles of the measure will best be understood from the following extract of orders issued on the 9th of February, 1850:—

No. 149 of 1850.

[Head Quarters, General Department, the 9th February, 1850.]

#### RESOLUTION.

Enquiries, which have been lately instituted in order to ascertain the state of education throughout these provinces, show that the greatest ignorance prevails amongst the people, and that there are no adequate means at

\* The following is a general outline of the proposal:—

Statistical enquiries, which have now extended over a great part of the country, show that the people are extremely ignorant, and that existing provisions for the education of the rising generation are very defective. On an average, less than 5 per cent. of the youth who are of an age to attend schools, obtain any instruction, and that instruction, which they do receive, is of a very imperfect kind.

The people are at the same time poor and unable to support school-masters by their own unaided efforts. It therefore becomes the duty of the Government to give them such assistance as may be best calculated to draw forth their own exertions.

The proposed scheme contemplates the endowment of a school in every village of a certain size, the Government giving up its revenue from the land, which constitutes the endowment, on assurance that the zemindars have appropriated the land for the purpose of maintaining a school-master.

This system is most in consonance with the customs and feelings of the people. The school-master will become a recognized village servant, elected and supported in a manner consonant with the usage of the village community.

An endowment in land is preferable to a money payment, because it gives greater respectability of station than a pecuniary stipend, much exceeding the rent of the land, and because it connects the school-master with the community in a way which renders his services more acceptable to them than if he were the paid servant of the Government.



work for affording them instruction. The means of learning are scanty, and the instruction which is given is of the rudest and least practical character.

The present scheme contemplates the employment of an agency, which shall rouse the people to a sense of the evils resulting from ignorance, which shall stimulate them to exertions on their own part to remove this ignorance, which shall furnish them with qualified teachers and appropriate books, and which shall afford rewards and encouragement to the most deserving teachers and pupils.

The means of effecting this object will be sought in that feature of the existing revenue system which provides for the annual registration of all landed property throughout the country.

It is well known that the land is minutely divided amongst the people. There are few of the agricultural classes, who are not possessed of some rights of property in the soil. In order to explain and protect these rights, a system of registration has been devised, which is based on the survey made at the time of settlement and which annually shows the state of the property. It is necessary for the correctness of this register, that those, whose rights it records should be able to consult it and to ascertain the nature of the entries affecting themselves. This involves a knowledge of reading and writing, of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement.

The means are thus afforded for setting before the people the practical bearing of learning on the safety of those rights in land, which they most highly prize, and it is hoped that when the powers of the mind have once been excited into action, the pupils may often be induced to advance further, and to persevere till they reach a higher state of intellectual cultivation.

The agency by which it is hoped to effect this purpose will be thus constituted.

There will be a Government village school at the head quarters of every Tehseeldar. In every two or more Tehseeldars, there will be a Pargunnah Visitor. Over these a Zillah Visitor in each district, and over all a Visitor General for the whole of the province.

The Government village school at each Tehseeldar will be conducted by a school master, who will receive from Government a salary of from ten to twenty rupees per mensem besides such fees as he may collect from his scholars. The course of instruction in this school will consist of reading and writing the vernacular languages, both Urdu and Hindi accounts and the mensuration of land according to the native system. To these will be added such instruction in geography, history, geometry or other general subjects, conveyed through the medium of the vernacular language, as the people may be willing to receive. Care will be taken to prevent these schools from becoming rivals of the indigenous schools maintained by the natives themselves. This will be effected by making the terms of admission higher than are usually demanded in village schools and by allowing free admissions only on recommendations given by village school masters, who may be on the Visitors' lists.

The Pargunnah Visitors will receive salaries varying from twenty to forty rupees a month. It will be their duty to visit all the towns and principal villages in their jurisdictions and to ascertain what means of instruction are available to the people. Where there is no village school, they will explain to the people the advantages that would result from the institution of a school, they will offer their assistance in finding a qualified teacher, and in providing books, &c. Where schools are found in existence, they will ascertain

the nature of the instruction and the number of scholars, and they will offer their assistance to the person conducting the school. If this offer is accepted, the school will be entered on their lists, the boys will be examined, and the more advanced scholars noted, improvements in the course or mode of instruction will be recommended, and such books as may be required will be procured. Prizes will be proposed for the most deserving of the teachers or scholars, and the power of granting free admissions to the Tehseeldari school be accorded.

\* \* \* \* \*

It will be observed that this scheme contemplates drawing forth the energies of the people for their own improvement, rather than actually supplying to them the means of instruction at the cost of the Government. Persuasion, assistance and encouragement are the means to be principally employed. The greatest consideration is to be shown for the feelings and prejudices of the people, and no interference is ever to be exercised, where it is not desired by those who conduct the institution. The success of the scheme will chiefly appear in the number and character of the indigenous schools, which may be established: The poor may be persuaded to combine for the support of a teacher; the rich may be encouraged to support schools for their poorer neighbours, and all the schools that are established may be assisted, improved, and brought forward.

These operations must be conducted in concert with the revenue authorities, and must obtain their cordial assistance. The agency which is now called into action may be made most valuable in ensuring the proper training of putwaris, and in ascertaining the qualifications of candidates or nominees for that office. Certificates of qualification from some of the persons employed in the department may be made necessary for advancement to the post of village putwarri, and also to many other appointments, such as those of peon, chupprassi or bukudauza, as well as to those higher offices, where literary attainments are more evidently essential.

Thus, while the scheme aims at encouraging the people to multiply their own schools, it provides in every small division one *Tehseeli* school, as an example of right teaching and a nursery of good teachers, and it brings to bear upon the native institutions a machinery which, by imparting advice, supervision, and good school-books, will tend to their gradual improvement and elevation. These efforts have been welcomed by the people; for the great value of the plan is that it makes them *work with us* for their own improvement. It is *their own* schools that we are, with their own consent, endeavouring to raise. Hence it is that they willingly receive our teachers, cheerfully accept our suggestions and assistance, and purchase with avidity the useful school-books, which are being prepared with a laborious devotion by Mr. Henry Stewart Reid and his subordinates, and are brought, by the arrangements of the Government, to the very doors of the purchasers. Instead, therefore, of planting amongst them foreign schools, uncongenial to their tastes, and the object of an unconquerable prejudice,—schools that would never take root or germinate in the rare vicinities in which our funds would enable us to

open them,—we bring to the cause a legion of assisting seminaries in every quarter of the land; and, almost unconsciously to themselves, bear along the nation in the march of intellect, and raise them in the scale of moral life.

The actual result has proved to be no less satisfactory than the anticipation. Although, at so early a period, it is hardly fair to expect any sensible effect in a measure, which to affect the large masses of the country must necessarily work with a slow and permeating influence, yet a marked advance has already been made, as the returns noted below from Mr. Reid's carefully prepared tables will prove.\* While the numbers have materially increased, the quality of the instruction has greatly improved, and the inflated Persian and rude illiterate Hindi are being steadily forsaken for our simple Urdu school-books and their invaluable stores of knowledge. The sales of school-books alone would show that a system has, at last, been discovered, suited to the habits and wishes of the people, and rapidly becoming popular and established among them.

Persuaded by these happy results of the success of his

	<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Scholars.</i>
* 1850 (Probably imperfect) . . . . .	2,014	17,169
1850-51 .. .. .	3,127	28,676
1851-52 .. .. .	3,329	31,843
1852-53 .... .	3,469	36,884

Dr Monak, an impartial and most capable witness, has reported in terms of unqualified praise regarding the system. Of the examination of the school at Allyghur, where "some hundreds" of pupils were collected by Mr. Reid from the district for inspection, he writes

"During my long connection with education in India, and familiarity with the attainments and appearance of the pupils of all castes and classes, I never witnessed a more gratifying and interesting scene."

Of the general system he thus speaks—"It will be at once apparent that the scheme and manner of working it meet with my entire approval, it is no small praise of a great plan of national education, which has barely completed the third year of its existence, to record that it has not only fully and fairly attained the object for which it was designed, as far as its limited trial will admit of, but has actually already outran its own means of extension, for want of books and instruments of a higher order than those now in use. In the second year of its trial in the experimental districts sanctioned, it has raised the number of boys receiving a sound elementary education from 17,000 to 30,000, has thrown into the schools between 30 and 40,000 school-books of a better class than those heretofore in use, and has given such an impulse to the cause of vernacular education, as cannot fail, in a very few years, to produce the fruits that invariably result from a spread of knowledge in the right direction."

It has become possible by this system, to introduce the literary test for the lowest servants of Government, contemplated in the last para. of the resolution quoted above. This was done in the eight experimental districts, in the resolution of the 5th June, 1852, which prescribes an examination in reading, writing, and accounts, for putwans, burkundars, chuprasies and all the officials of Government. This is a proceeding in the right direction, for moving the masses from below.

scheme, Mr. Thomason, within two months of his death, laid its progress in detail before the Government of India, and solicited sanction to extend it over the whole North West Provinces, at an annual expenditure of two lakhs of rupees. On a review of the proceedings, the Governor-General,—ever ready cordially to appreciate any measure for the advancement of India, and vigorously to carry it into effect,—not only approved the extension of the plan throughout these provinces, but its introduction also into Bengal and the Punjab. The resolution in which this is embodied contains the following beautiful and touching tribute to the founder of a system which “experience has shown to be capable of producing such rich and early fruit.”

“And while I cannot refrain,” His Lordship writes, “from recording anew in this place my deep regret that the ear which would have heard this welcome sanction given, with so much joy, is now dull in death, I desire at the same time to add the expression of my feeling, that even though Mr. Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, this system of general vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career.”

So high a testimony, from such a quarter, renders unnecessary any further eulogium of the scheme from the reviewer's pen.

Here we close our review of Mr. Thomason's official character. It may well be enquired what secret charm it was, which lent to almost every department of his administration so distinguishing an efficiency and greatness. It was not brilliant genius; for his faculties, though powerful and elevated, were not transcendent; it was not the gift of eloquence; nor anything unusually persuasive either in speech or writing. The capacities of his well-regulated mind, schooled into their utmost efficiency, performed wonderful things; but those capacities in themselves were in few respects greater than are often met with in undistinguished characters. There was indeed a rare power of deliberation and judgment, an unusual faculty of discernment and research, a keen discrimination of truth from error. Yet these were mainly the result of studious habit, and earnest purpose. And herein, in our judgment, lies the grand praise of the late administration. It was by LABOUR that it was perfected—conscientious, unceasing, daily labour; by a wakeful anxiety that knew no respite; by a severity of thought, ever busy and ever prolific in the devising of new arrangements, and the perfecting of old. Yet his mind

was so beautifully balanced, that this unwearied work and never-ceasing tension produced (as in most men it could hardly fail to have done,) no irregularity of action, and no fretful or impatient advance. All was even, serene, powerful.

Sternly as Mr. Thomason held, in his position of Lieut.-Governor, to the axiom, that the introduction of religious teaching by the Government was not only inexpedient but unjustifiable,\* he could yet see, as the goal of his measures, both collegiate and indigenous, the eventual conversion of the people to Christianity. Scrupulous to the last degree in his official measures, he yet never feared to avow this desire and persuasion privately, and even sometimes, in an unoffensive form, at the public examinations of the Government Colleges. At the latter he has been heard to say, that although bound in his official position to provide seminaries where no reference was made to Christianity, yet in a private capacity, his influence, his money, and his efforts were directed towards imparting elsewhere another element in education, essential to the well-being and highest interests of the people.† The following extract from his speech at the opening of the Benares College sufficiently establishes his views in this respect :—

We are here met together this day, men of different races and of different creeds. If any one section of this assembly had met to dedicate such a building as this to the education of their young in their own peculiar tenets, they would have given a religious sanction to the act, and would have consecrated the deed by the ceremonial of their faith. But this we cannot do. Unhappily, human opinions, on the subject of religion, are so irreconcilable, that we cannot concur in any one act of worship. The more necessary it is then, that each man, in his own breast, should offer up his prayer to the God whom he worships;‡ that here morality may be

\* He declined to admit the books of the Calcutta Christian School Book Society into the Dépôt of the Curator of Government School Books, or to allow the Government shops and culporters to exhibit religious works along with their stock of school-books, lest he should prove to be holding out false colors; enticing the people by the profession of strict religious neutrality, while in reality favoring Christianity at the expense of other religions. If some may not be able entirely to sympathize with this rigid justice, let them remember that it only adds lustre to the public avowal in favour of Christianity, which, in consistence with his principles, he did make, and enhances the value of his private efforts.

† Such were the sentiments expressed at an examination of the Agra College, when a kindly reference was made to the new Missionary College just established there.

‡ This phrase has occasioned misapprehension in some quarters, as if Mr. Thomason had conceded to his idolatrous audience, that the various gods they worshipped were really the hearers of prayer. Whatever interpretation the words are capable of, it is certain that they were simply used with reference to the aspiration which the speaker desired that all, then present, not excluding the Hindus and Mahomedans, should raise to the Great Being, whom, one and all, by an intensive

rightly taught, and that here truth, in all its majesty, may prevail. This aspiration may have a different meaning, according to the wishes or belief of the person who forms it, but with many it will point to a new state of things, when a higher philosophy and a purer faith will pervade this land, not enforced by the arbitrary decrees of a persecuting government, not hypocritically professed to meet the wishes of a proselytizing government, but, whilst the government is just and impartial, cordially adopted by a willing people, yielding to the irresistible arguments placed before them. Nor is it unreasonable to expect that such a change may take place. We cannot forget that to such a change we owe the present happy state of things in our own country, and even in this country, changes of the same nature have taken place. It is but a few days ago that our friend, Major Kitchie, who is as distinguished for antiquarian research as he is for the architectural skill he has shown in this edifice, led a party to view the neighbouring ruins around Sarnath. He there showed us the undoubted remains of another and a different system which once prevailed in this land. He showed us its temples, its colleges, its hospitals, and its tombs, now perished and long buried under the earth. A few centuries have so utterly destroyed it that it is now only known in this part of the country, from the obscure allusions of Chinese travellers, the scarcely legible inscriptions on broken sculptures, and the imperfect traditions of a despised sect. And now there flourish here on the banks of the Ganges, another system still vigorous, but already on the wane. And that system may pass away, and give place to another and a better one. From this place may this system pre-eminently, nor is it vain to hope that the building in which we are assembled may be one instrument in the mighty change. When it is so the highest aspirations of those who first designed and mainly promoted its erection will be fully realized.

Such is the assured hope and expectation of many here assembled, and there is a large section of the remainder who share in the expectation, but cannot bring themselves at present to adopt it as their hope. But no undue means will here be employed to effect the end. No religious system will here be exclusively taught. This is a common arena on which all can assemble, and where the common element of truth can be impartially acquired. Let all to whom the cause of truth is sacred, co-operate in promoting the objects of this building. To withdraw from the field will but show that they are conscious of the weakness of their cause.\*

Beyond the mere social and intellectual elevation, anticipated from his system of indigenous village education, Mr. Thomason believed that it was the truest foundation on which to build our efforts for the spiritual regeneration of the country.\*

perception of the heart, feel to be supreme, that He would bless the institution, and render it an instrument for His own glory and man's good.

After the criticisms appeared, Mr. Thomason was known to have expressed much regret, that he had not framed the expression in a manner, incapable of misconception. But the criticisms were in themselves hypocritical.

\* One great beauty of the system is its power of development and adaptation to the advancing circumstances of the country. It would adjust itself as readily (which the land endowment would not have done), to a Christianized tract of villages, as it now does to the most bigoted and intolerant Hindu and Mahomedan ones. Christian and Missionary schools share Mr. H. S. Reid's favours equally with village indigenous ones. The scheme is in fact an aid to all spontaneous effort which has secular education for one of its main objects; and thus it resembles the solution of the educational difficulty now recognized in England.

Sound and enlightened secular tuition is, indeed, the most substantial fulcrum upon which the Christian lever can be brought to work; and the most enlightened of our missionaries concur in holding the improved village schools to be the pioneers of their own labours.

Of missionary institutions he was the warm advocate, the ready helper,\* and the munificent patron. Every evangelical denomination scattered throughout the provinces received his substantial assistance; although, wherever a Mission of his own church existed, he considered it to be entitled to his peculiar if not exclusive assistance. His charity was not, however, confined to missionary objects:—no case of benevolence, no cry of real distress, nor any public endeavour for the social welfare within the length and breadth of the North West Provinces, if well supported (for he was discriminating in his charity), missed his liberal aid. Colleges, schools, dispensaries, churches, charities—whatever in fact tended to ameliorate or to elevate the social life of the people, either native or European, was liberally aided. His alms-giving eminently responded (wherever that was possible) to the direction of being done in secret. None but his chosen almoners knew of some of his most liberal and spontaneous acts; and wherever publicity was unavoidable, the courteous modesty of the donor only enhanced the value of the gift. A tenth portion of his income was carefully appropriated to *bonâ fide* charities; but the largeness of his heart, and the depth of his sympathy for debased and suffering humanity, were ever prompting him to overleap the limit; and, notwithstanding the large scale of his income, and his inexpensive habits, he died (and in his last hours felt it to be a satisfaction that he was dying) a man of small fortune.

A certain amount of outward dignity, he believed that his position called for; and (looking upon his allowances as fixed by this consideration), he made a point of conscience to maintain it. But the love of display found no place in his heart: pomp and show he regarded with indifference, and he was markedly distinguished by an unostentatious bearing. Though given to no false self-depreciation, and holding that manly front which a just self-respect requires, still his humility and modesty were conspicuous in every action. A serene and cheerful benevolence ever beamed from his countenance; his frame was spare, and his figure unusually tall, slightly stooped, but his carriage was nevertheless eminently suited to the nobi-

\* At a former period he afforded personal aid to their labours, by preparing a revised translation of the Psalms. The version is still in use. It is distinguished by its elegance, but its style is too high and difficult for the comprehension of the people.

lity of his mind ; and his features (not perhaps in themselves striking), were so lighted up with intellect and benignity as to win the most casual stranger, and diffuse light and love amongst his immediate circle. His temperament was naturally cold, his manner distant, and his demeanour constrained ; still such was the force of the counter-elements, that warmth, ease, and kindness were the prevailing characteristics, which even a short acquaintance would discover. His temper was calm and unruffled by provocation. Though the bent of his mind was to follow out favorite principles to an extreme (some perhaps thought an unjustifiable) limit, he was yet singularly tolerant of difference of opinion where no axiom of morality was involved ; and views the most discordant with his own were always heard with kindness, and combated patiently, but with a wonderful fertility of argument. His religious sentiments were pure from the modern and prevalent tincture of Pharisaism, and "in strict accordance with the large and scriptural views of the blessed Reformers and Martyrs of our Church ;" \* still, with a moderation rare in our day, he cherished, esteemed and loved the good of every denomination, even where the most extreme and opposing principles were strenuously held. His feelings were always under a stern command, and he would to a very careful looker-on appear unmoved and unconcerned, at times when the most lively and intense emotions were busy within his breast. In private friendships, his attachments were steady, unselfish, unreserved ; but a common faith added a peculiar depth and strength to the bond. His domestic affections were amongst the strongest and most pervading that we have ever witnessed ; and if we could tear away the curtain from the delicacy of private life, the exquisite tenderness of a father's love would add the brightest touch to the portraiture of a character the most perfect and the most attractive it has been our lot to know. Duty, sincerity, love, were the watch-words of his life ; the one idea which formed his spring of action—THE GOOD OF OTHERS.

And the key to all this was a Christian Faith. He believed the Bible to be the Word of God ; and therefore took it for the daily and the hourly guide of his life. A simple faith in Christ, as his Divine redeemer, was followed by an unquestioning devotion to His service. Hence followed love to men, and earnest endeavour for their welfare. These motive powers

\* Sermon preached by the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt, at the Cathedral, Calcutta, on the 16th October, 1853. This Sermon contained some passages powerfully descriptive of Mr. Thomason's character, a personal intimacy enabling the preacher to draw from the life.



(concealed it may be from the outward observer) were deeply seated in his soul, and imparted a consistent and energetic action to the whole machinery of his life. However engrossing the claims of the State, those of his God were paramount: and it was just by a daily subjection of heart to the principles of the Gospel, and by honouring supremely the claims of his Maker, that he was enabled so efficiently to discharge his duty toward his earthly master and his sovereign.

We quote (from one of the pamphlets placed at the head of this article,) the following account of Mr. Thomason's Christian life by the Rev. T. V. French, with the more pleasure, because, while eminently qualified to form a judgment, his independent position and devoted life place his opinion beyond the suspicion of a partial influence.—

In such a sense we believe the words of our text were specially appropriate to him who is gone from us. His public character can only enter into our consideration here, so far as it was influenced by his private character as a Christian. The influence which this exercised was uniform, and pervaded his whole course of action. There are few who would not bear witness readily to the simplicity and singleness of heart with which he set God's glory before him, as the steady and undeviating object of his life. From the conscientious discharge of his duties to the State, he never separated the sense of accountability to One higher than the State not acting as though there were two masters to be served, two rules of action, two principles of guidance to be followed, two irreconcilable duties to be performed. Rather acknowledging but one source and fountain-head of duty, beside which, and apart from which, there could be no out-goings of it, it was his study, while having regard to the lesser aspects in which subjects might be viewed, to view them not the less in their religious bearing, and to trace them up to their connexion with the highest of all duties. Doubtless the great secret of this line of conduct may be found here, that he was accustomed, in every important and difficult matter, to have recourse to God in prayer for direction and guidance. With a mind thus composed, and as before God, arriving at a decision, he had the strongest ground of assurance, which man can have, that his work would be prospered and rewarded: that confidence which produces steadiness of action, firmness of purpose, and can patiently abide difficulties and delays. Very edifying it was to observe the guardedness with which he walked, and the fear which he expressed, lest the incessant calls of duty should check the growth of spiritual life in his soul. In the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, and making known His pure and saving truth to the heathen around us, he always expressed a lively and heartfelt interest, which he extended even to the individual cases and circumstances of any in whose heart a desire had been awakened for the reception of Christianity. He seemed fully persuaded of the happy and blessed effects which would be wrought on the Hindu mind and character by embracing our Holy Faith. I have a vivid impression left on my own mind of the bright and animated expression of countenance with which he detailed to me, some months ago, the circum-

\* "From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus;" 17th verse of Galatians vi., a chapter which the dying statesman desired to be read in his hearing.

stances of two important conversions which had taken place in Delhi: tidings of which he had just received. Having watched patiently and attentively the course of Christian missions, and partaken much in the hopes and fears which they have alternately awakened, he was sensibly affected with the report of any thing which seemed to make against the progress of the truth: was fully alive to difficulties: would suggest new plans; and point to fresh directions in which the Christian effort of each labourer engaged in the work might extend itself. One of those brought up in the Orphan Institution at Secundra was most touchingly describing to me. (since the tidings of his death were received) how he would, in by-gone years, come over to the Mission premises there, gather the children around him, and, seating himself in the middle of them, would question them in the simple Bible Histories they had prepared, and spend much pains in the explanation of them; so that his visits were always welcomed and talked of amongst them. He would speak feelingly of the state of the native servants in his employ, and of the earnest desire he had to bring them within reach of direct Christian instruction.

The strength of his religious convictions was not independent of a mature consideration of all the main difficulties that were urged against the Christian religion. He spoke as one who had seriously reflected upon them: allowed them all their due weight: but found that preponderating evidence in support of the faith once delivered to the Saints, which led him, with advancing years, to glory increasingly in bearing about with him the marks of the Lord Jesus.

In us, who were strengthened and encouraged by observing those marks, I believe the remembrance of him will live, and will not readily be effaced. Many a distressed and afflicted one can bear witness to the timely help he rendered, often unsolicited, and even diligently seeking out the objects of it, unknown to any but his Father who "*seeth in secret*." His unassuming, reverent, prayerful demeanour, which was a blessed example to us in this house of prayer, of which he was so regular an attendant, helping to quicken us in our devotions, involuntarily reproving the wandering eye and heart in those who were his fellow-worshippers;\* the remembrance of serious counsel suggested as occasion offered; the recollection of an influence calmly and uniformly exerted over those amongst whom he went in and out, to their spiritual and temporal good:—these are hallowed memorials, which will stay with us, I believe, and recall to us the image of one, who was as a ruler, that which he was as a man; one whom Christian principles swayed to Christian practices.

Such is the man, (and it is one of the hopeful symptoms of our age), whom the public has united to honor. Witness after witness has borne testimony before the Legislature of Britain, to the pre-eminent virtues of his Administration: the Press has conspired to denominate his, "the model Government." The praises of the Hon'ble Court, and of the Go-

\* Most Civil Officers in the North Western Provinces will long remember how on the appointed weekly halt, (for he always prized and carefully observed the Sunday, wholly casting aside the cares of State, substituting the records of Christianity for the weary files of official labour, and devoting himself to his family and the special duties of the day), the bell of the Camp would sound forth an invitation to the public tent, where in a manner impressive and earnest, the service of the Church was performed by the Lieut.-Governor himself.

vernor-General under whom he acted, have been freely and frequently accorded. And when at last the State was deprived by death of its able servant, an Extraordinary Gazette, encircled by the ensigns of mourning, announced the fact to India:—

No. 651.

FORT WILLIAM—HOME DEPARTMENT.

*The 3rd October, 1853.*

NOTIFICATION.—The Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council is deeply grieved to announce the decease of the Hon'ble James Thomason, the Lieut.-Governor of the North Western Provinces.

The Lieut.-Governor has long since earned for himself a name, which ranks him high among the most distinguished servants of the Hon'ble East India Company.

Conspicuous ability, devotion to the public service, and a conscientious discharge of every duty, have marked each step of his honourable course: while his surpassing administrative capacity, his extensive knowledge of affairs, his clear judgment, his benevolence of character and suavity of demeanour, have adorned and exalted the high position which he was wisely selected to fill.

The Governor-General in Council deplores his loss with a sorrow deep and unfeigned,—with sorrow aggravated by the regret that his career should have been thus untimely closed, when all had hoped that opportunities for extended usefulness were still before him, and that fresh honor might be added to his name.

The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council directs that the Flag shall be lowered half-mast high, and that seventeen minute guns\* shall be fired at the respective seats of Government in India so soon as the present Notification shall have been there received.

By order of the Governor-General of India in Council.

(Signed) GEO. PLOWDEN,

*Offy. Secy. to the Govt. of India.*

The Governor-General has also, in terms most gratifying to the friends of the deceased statesman, proposed to the Court of Directors to found at the Roorkee College (which, the object of his fostering care during life, may well perpetuate his name after death), a scholarship commemorative of the ability and virtues of Mr. Thomason.† All honor to the Most

\* It has been said in some quarters, minute guns corresponding in number with the age of the deceased should have been fired: but this is a mistake. At the funeral of Military and Civil Officers, the minute guns are strictly limited by Royal Warrant, to the number the deceased was entitled to as a salute. The Governor-General paid a peculiar tribute to the memory of the Lieut. Governor, in directing this honor to be shown at each of the seats of Government.

† In addition to this, it would be an useful undertaking, as well as a graceful tribute to the merits of Mr. Thomason, as an Administrator, if all his most important despatches were collected and published under his name. He himself, we believe, used to retain for reference a private copy of all that he considered of the greatest moment; and to these might be added a selection of all others enunciating his enlightened views upon important topics. This would perhaps prove (after

Noble Marquess, for the just and generous praise he has so freely accorded. It will not be viewed as one of the least of the praises of his administration, thus to have appreciated, and honorably acknowledged, the merits of one who rendered such distinguished service to his Government.

So high indeed was the estimate of the Governor-General, that we believe he had pressed upon the Government of Britain and the Court of Directors the appointment of Mr. Thomason, as the fittest man, to the Government of Madras. And it is a singular confirmation of the wisdom of the advice, that before it could have been received at home, the appointment recommended had been actually made. Thus did Mr. Thomason retire from this earthly scene, honored in death as in life, by his noble master, by the Hon'ble Court, and by the Government of his native land.

And if, as we believe from Holy Writ, the spirits of just men made perfect are inheritors of "glory, honour, and immortality," may we not anticipate that a nobler work, and a more enviable recompense than that of an earthly sovereign, await him at another and a sublimer court? Thither, trusting to his Saviour's merits, he dared with confidence to approach; for he was heard at the last to say, that though unworthy and deficient, "*he was not afraid to die.*" And there, we cannot doubt, with nobler faculties, and an inconceivably vaster sphere of action, he but continues the service of that Great Master, for whom, upon earth, he delighted to labour, and rejoices in a glory and a reward, before which his terrestrial distinctions, like the minor luminaries at the Sun's approach, wane and vanish.

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the living monument of indigenous education,) the most enduring memorial of his wisdom and ability. It would form, as it were, his legacy towards sound Government, and the prosperity of the North Western Provinces. To these despatches should be added the Revenue Code, which is referred to above, even in its unfinished state.

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ART. VII.—*Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenáná; or, Six Years in India.* By Mrs. Colin Mackenzie. 3 Vols. London. R. Bentley. 1853.

To those who have read both, Mrs. Mackenzie's work will immediately suggest, and call up for contrast and comparison, the pages of that lively and most undevout of "pilgrims"—the picturesque Mrs. Fanny Parks.

Both these ladies are highly gifted and accomplished, and handle the pen and the pencil with equal facility and skill; both have had frequent and familiar intercourse with the highest class of native female society, and show us that inner life of the eastern world, which the mysterious *pardah* hides from European eyes; and both set down what they have to say on all subjects with a disregard for the conventional, which is (to say the least of it), not unfrequently indiscreet. In literary finish and handling, Mrs. Mackenzie's book is decidedly inferior to that of her more sparkling rival. In the latter every sentence seems written with an eye to the picturesque; and the spirited illustrations, with which it is profusely interspersed, are only less spirited and life-like, than the pictures, which her pen brings before the mind, with the distinctness of the camera lucida.

Mrs. Mackenzie's book seems to have been edited in haste, without due pruning, and without due care or preparation. She has forgotten the change in the audience. Pages, full of interest for a little circle of affectionate friends and relatives, are often but mere platitudes, when addressed to the "hard-hearted" public. For instance, not to speak of minor and more provoking offences, a very large portion of her second volume is occupied with details of the siege of Multan and the second Sikh war, received at second-hand from friends, or borrowed from the newspapers. These, no doubt, were read during the progress of the struggle with interest and avidity; but that interest has long since passed away; and, if she had thought of the matter at all, she ought to have considered, not, whether these details had interest for her friends then, but, whether they were likely to possess equal attraction for the public now.

But these are not all Mrs. Mackenzie's literary sins. Not content with publishing what she ought to have kept back, she keeps back what she ought to have published. She has a portfolio, overflowing with sketches and portraits of most of the celebrities of India, drawn with admirable truth and artistic skill; and, although these alone, or even a selection from them, would

have made the fortune of any book, she has sent hers into the world without them.

The very form she has adopted (and with her it is not only a form, but a strict reality) is, in a literary point of view, an error of judgment. The ease and *abandon* of private and familiar correspondence form but a poor compensation for the care and thoughtfulness and strenuous effort to do one's very best, which ought to form the ground-work of every appeal to the public. The real "home" letter has always more to do with the heart than the head; it relates to personal and domestic details, to places, persons, and things, regarded by all the world besides with the most philosophic indifference; and, even when thrown amidst striking scenes or stirring events, in writing to "Uncle Tom," or to "Cousin Jane," one involuntarily writes down to the recognized level (*tant soit peu* common place) of relationship, and feels that any thing elaborate or carefully thought out—anything in short rising much above the level of ordinary conversation—would be out of taste, or out of place. It is possible, by judicious selection, to preserve the charm, the ease, gracefulness and kindliness of familiar correspondence, and to keep out of sight whatever is indifferent or distasteful; and, once perhaps in a thousand years, it may be given to a Cowper or a Sévigné, by the charm of genius, or the charm of style, to invest trifles with immortality. But even a Cowper or a Sévigné could not afford to publish their correspondence, just as it was written, without alteration and retrenchment. Mrs. Mackenzie seems to have done this—to have reprinted her journal, exactly as it was written. She has, therefore, necessarily neither written her best, nor done herself justice. Her style lacks practice and finish; her book cries aloud for condensation; and it is most provoking and vexatious to withhold her sketches from the public.

But here our fault-finding ends. In spite of our admiration of Mrs. Parks's book, we rise from its perusal with a sad and painful impression, by no means flattering to that lively lady; while, in Mrs. Mackenzie's pages, amidst much that is commonplace, and not a little that could well be spared, we come now and then on rich and deep veins of thought, to which Mrs. Parks could never have attained, and on the unstudied utterances of high and noble principle, of sweet womanly sympathy, of a true feeling for the beautiful in life, in art, and in nature; and we close the book with the conviction that it is written by a noble, gifted and high-minded woman, one of "the excellent of the earth."

Whatever inherent faults may attach to the form in which

Mrs. Mackenzie's book has been submitted to the public, it has however the undeniable charm of variety. Nothing (worth seeing) is left unseen between Bombay and Calcutta; and nothing has been done for the six years, during which she has been taking notes amongst us, which will not be found in her pages. If she sometimes errs in her choice of a subject, she never errs in the treatment. Her sketches are lively, faithful, and interesting; and their transparent honesty and truthfulness give them always originality and freshness.

The Taj at Agra has been often described, and by authors of no mean repute; but we question whether it has ever been more worthily written of, than in the following extract, where something of its own grace and beauty seems mirrored in the flow of the narrative, and the closing reflections attune the mind to higher and holier feelings, than mere beauty and gracefulness could ever of themselves call forth:—

After dinner they took us to see the Taj by moonlight. We alighted at a magnificent gateway, and beheld this unequalled building at the end of an avenue of cypresses. The walk from the gate to the tomb is a quarter of a mile long. The Taj stands in a garden, enclosed by a quadrangular wall of red stone. Opposite the gateway is a quadrangle of white marble, from the four corners of which spring snow-white minarets, and in the centre, raised on a stately terrace, is the pure noble dome of the Taj itself. At the back runs a terrace overlooking the Jumna;—on either hand is a fine mosque of red stone; but no description can give any idea of the wondrous beauty of this matchless monument. No building that I have ever seen comes near it, except the Cathedral of Cologne. St. Peter's is not to be named in the same breath as regards the exterior. Its exquisite symmetry, its spotless colour, looking as if it were carved in snow, and its lovely situation, (secluded in the midst of a stately garden, full of trees, flowers, fountains, and paved walks), make the Taj more like a vision of beauty than a reality. The sight of it makes one's chest expand and one's heart swell: it almost lifts one off the earth.

*Saturday, February 5th.*—Mrs. E., Miss M., and I drove to see the Taj, which is as beautiful by daylight as by the moonbeams. I sketched it from the gateway: a lovely vista. Between the two paved raised walks, bordered by cypresses, is a channel of water, with fountains. At the back of the cypresses are beds of flowers in full beauty, the different plots being divided by stone borders of fantastic patterns, the regularity of which connects the garden more completely with the building; and behind these again are broad, paved walks, where we enjoyed the most refreshing shelter from the noonday sun. I give up in despair all hopes of conveying any adequate idea of the beauty of the architecture, of the inlaid marble terraces, the fine old trees, the delightful verdure, and above all, of the chaste unsullied majesty of the dome itself. In a vault beneath lies Mumtaz Begum, and on her right a loftier and larger tomb to her husband Shah Jehan. Above, the mausoleum consists of a glorious vault, in the centre of which stands her monument, with his in the same position as below. Each tomb is of the usual simple form—a narrow raised parallelogram, perfectly plain, not un-

like what Scipio's tomb would be without the cornice, and inlaid, like the whole of the interior, with flowers of bloodstone, lapis-lazuli, agates, and other precious stones, forming the most beautiful mosaic. Over the tomb hangs an ostrich egg. Both monuments had flowers laid on them, and are surrounded by an octagonal screen of the most lovely fairy-like open work. The walls are, as it were, panelled with bas-reliefs of tulips and other flowers in white marble, surmounted by arabesques in costly mosaic; and around the dome are four beautiful apartments embellished with no less care. Such is the perfect art manifested throughout, that although every part is, when closely viewed, brilliant with colour, and though the exterior is adorned with inscriptions from the Kuran, in black marble letters of colossal size, yet this in no way mars the general effect of the whole building as one of dazzling whiteness, while it relieves the eye when near from the tedium of travelling over unbroken heights and depths of, as it were, unvaried snow. How strange it is that the architects of most of the finest buildings in the world remain unknown!

I do not think an unprejudiced person could, after visiting the Tâj, attach any value to the kind of religious feeling which is produced by external objects affecting the senses. Here a Muhammadan building excites in the highest degree those emotions of rapture, which, by a natural transition, melt into the spurious poetic devotion, which is aroused by the "long-drawn aisles" and "dim religious light" of an ancient cathedral: this shows that these feelings are purely natural. A heathen can feel them—a Muhammadan architect or an infidel poet can excite them; therefore they have no claim to be considered as Christian, or as religious feelings at all, in any other sense than as springing from those tendencies to wonder and reverence, which are implanted in every one who has a heart. Rightly did our Presbyterian forefathers act in stripping the worship of God of all that could delude the worshipper, by exciting those poetic emotions which too often pass current, with those who experience them, for the true devotion of the heart to that God who "dwelleth not in temples made with hands." How would a woman value that love, or a friend that friendship, which owed its origin, and depended for its existence, on the magnificence of an apartment, or the beauty of the scenery in which they dwell? How can we imagine, then, that this spurious kind of devotion is acceptable to Him who searcheth the heart, and who sees that it exists so often in souls alienated from Him, and "enemies in their mind by wicked works?"—*Vol. I. pp. 135-141.*

Nothing can be more graceful or delicate in finish than her impressions of the world-renowned monuments of Moslem splendour and magnificence; yet they are evidently the unstudied utterances of her admiration, written down while the impression was yet fresh and warm in her imagination, if not actually before her eyes. Mrs. Mackenzie has nothing of that austere and ascetic spirit, which condemns every enjoyment, to which itself is impassive. She has a keen and vivid enjoyment of the beautiful. The glory, the exquisite loveliness of the Moslem architecture fairly "carries her off her feet;" but while her soul is stirred within her, higher thoughts and holier feelings arise, and the sensual becomes subordinate to the spiritual. Thus the accidental contiguity of the Kutab Minar to



an ancient Hindu temple suggests the following thoughts on temple architecture:—

The contrast between the Mahamadan and Hindu architecture is very great: the former is as majestic as perhaps man in his fallen state is capable of conceiving; the latter is wholly devoid of this quality; and in spite of the beauty of some minor details, the effect of the whole is grotesque confusion. The pillars are such as one might imagine in an uneasy dream.

It seems as if no mind, unaccustomed to dwell on the Unity of the God-head, were capable of any truly sublime idea even in temporal things; as if this, the most simple and sublime of all ideas, were needful for the education of the intellect and heart, before man can conceive anything of unity and harmony, or represent them in his work. No man can imagine aught higher than that which he worships: in no ancient Greek or Roman building, that I have seen, is there anything to raise the mind from earth;—their majesty consists chiefly in their size; their harmony is the harmony of earthly beauty; but there is nothing which solemnizes one as a Gothic building does.

Now the Hindu mythology being far beneath that of Rome and Greece (especially as held by their philosophers and artists), their architecture and sculpture is proportionately debased; the latter is worthy of a New Zealand war club; the former is fit for the revels of sorcerers. There is something diabolical in it; and, in viewing it, one's sympathies are all with the fierce Mussulmans, who gloried in the title of idol-breakers.—*Val. I. p. 167.*

Perhaps not many of our readers have heard of the well of Nizam-ud-din. We hope they will share in Mrs. Mackenzie's surprise on being introduced to it:—

#### THE WELL OF NIZAM-UD-DIN.

Flowers were lying on most of the tombs, and a tree or two is suffered to grow in the court, thus greatly adding to its beauty. Passing through a narrow passage or two, I heard Mr. Roberts say, "Now, I think, she will be astonished; she does not know what to expect:" and, accordingly, I was surprised a moment after on passing through a narrow passage to find myself overlooking a very large well, about sixty feet square, surrounded by houses of several stories, and with a lofty flight of wide steps opposite to where we stood. A crowd of people were sitting or standing on the house-tops to our right, who looked most picturesque in their garments of many colours, with the bright blue sky and the green foliage behind them. Mr. Roberts had just said, "This is the well of Nizam-ud-Din," when, to my utter amazement, a man joined his hands over his head, and leaped from the house-top into the well: another and another followed, from this housetop and from that; from thirty to sixty feet high they sprang, and before I could recover my breath, a perfect shower of men and boys came flying down into the water. At last they re-appeared from their plunge, and swimming, by throwing each arm forward alternately as far as they could reach, they gained the steps, and gathering up some addition to their very scanty garment, ran round to the passage in which we stood, so that on turning I beheld a crowd of half-naked dripping men and boys looking as cheerful as they could with chattering teeth: two rupees sent them away fully satisfied. As for me the suddenness of the act and the novelty of the scene completely bewildered me, and my husband and

Mr. Roberts were quite pleased at the success of their secret plot. Some of the leapers were little boys of twelve years old.—*Vol. I. p. 176.*

We shall pass from the subject of architecture with a little characteristic touch of the whip, most richly deserved by the malefactors :—

Some vulgar Europeans have defaced this magnificent monument by foolish inscriptions and drawings worthy of an ale-house. Such creatures ought to be sent to the treadmill, for they sadly require chastisement and employment.—*Vol. I. p. 177.*

Mrs. Mackenzie's first impressions of India were derived from our own city of Calcutta ; and, though overflowing with kindness and determined to be pleased, she found various habits and customs amongst us, for which we refer the curious (of her own sex especially) to her book. We have a shrewd suspicion, that on her return she had become more reconciled to them. But second thoughts are not always best.

During her stay in Calcutta, she saw all she could ; and amongst other things, she saw the Punch of the East. Here is her account of it :—

#### A KAT PUTLI NACH.

This being little Ewen's birth-day, we had a katpútli nách, *i. e.* a dance of Marionettes, in the dining-room. It was a most picturesque scene: there was a band of three or four musicians, who played on a kind of guitar, drum, and other instruments, and sang discordantly. The chief man showed some sleight-of-hand tricks, such as making four or five pigeons come from under an empty cover, and afterwards a little Marionette danced as a nách girl; some sepoys and other figures came on, to the great delight of the children, of whom there were many present. It was very pretty to see all these little ones, quite specimens of "mamas' darlings," with long hair, velvet dresses, ornamented pinafores, cashmeres and velvet to wrap them up in. The ayahs, in their white draperies, sitting with some on the floor; a Chinese woman waiting on another; moustachioed bearers attending on most of them, with divers little native and half-caste children, and the servants in scarlet and gold, glossy silk or white garments, and a crowd of tailors, gardeners, and hangers-on of all kinds, filling up the back-ground.

After tiffin, C. peeped in again, and found the audacious tamasha wallah (literally play-fellow) had dressed himself up as an officer, with a white mask, and was (the ladies having departed) showing how a young Ensign treats his bearer. I immediately went to see, and never was more diverted. He did it admirably, and showed such a perception of European follies, as to prove an effectual warning to all present not in any way to commit themselves before these quiet, quick-witted natives. He had laid hold of one of Julia's bearers, and was making him walk backwards and forwards for his amusement, bestowing a kick every now and then to quicken his movements. He then sent him for a bottle of brandy, stamped and rampaged about, and finally began to dance, exactly like an awkward Englishman attempting a hornpipe. He then forced his supposed servant to dance, looked at him through an eye-glass, and finally, "

your presents" (as the little Irishwoman said to me, when speaking of washing her face), took a sight at him, and taught him to do the same. He then brought in one of his companions dressed as a lady, dragged her about by way of taking a walk, and then danced with her in imitation of a quadrille and waltz. I cannot understand any one venturing to waltz before a native, after seeing this apt caricature of the performance!—It was very droll, and only too true.

I have since found that a mullah, in controversy with Mr. Pfander of Agra, alleges the custom of "kissing and putting their arms round the waists of other men's grown-up daughters, sisters, and wives," as an argument against Christianity. The "kissing" appears to have been added by the imaginative mullah. But I do not see how a waltz or polka could possibly be defended in the eyes of an Oriental.—*Vol I pp 62-68.*

But, though delighted and excited by the novelties around her, and domiciled with most pleasant and intellectual friends—the *élite* of Calcutta society—Mrs. Mackenzie is, above all things, a Christian woman; and the greater part of her heart and of her leisure was given to the missionaries, and to the great work in which they are engaged. There is something very pleasing in the never-fading delight she took in visiting the various missionary institutions, and the warm sympathy she felt and expressed in all that concerned them. Passing over what she writes of better known institutions, we extract her account of her visit to Mrs. Ewart's school:—

#### MRS. EWART'S SCHOOL.

The elder class read very nicely a chapter in the New Testament, with a perfectly pure English accent. They learn geography, write, and work very neatly, and have a good acquaintance with the main doctrines of Scripture. The progress they have made during the short time the school has existed is quite wonderful. The Jewish parents make no objection to their daughters reading the New Testament. My husband spoke to them on disobedience to the law of God constituting the very essence of sin, and on the willingness of Christ "the Messiah"—"the true God"—to save all who come to him; but they are very shy, and it is difficult to get them to answer. They are taught entirely in English.

One or two of the Armenian girls are lovely, with beautifully chiselled features, and a clear brunette complexion, so fine and delicate, that no fair one could be prettier. They look much older than they are; those of eleven look like fifteen. Most of the Jewesses were very plain, with very coarse features, and some with a moustache, many of them gaudily dressed, with silver lace on their robes, and beads round their necks.

The Armenians, who intermarry frequently with the Portuguese, who are as dark, if not darker than the Hindus, dress like Europeans, only with a profusion of flowers and trimmings. The Jewesses wear a tight fitting robe, fastened beneath the bosom; and one little girl had a train to hers.

Mrs. Ewart gave me a sampler "to send to my sister." It is worked by a very good little Jewess, named Jamilah Musa Bakahia, about ten or eleven years old. Her parents wished to take her away to marry her, and

had even bespoken her wedding garment; but she is so fond of the school that she prevailed on them to allow her to stay another year.

The pupils sang a hymn, and we then went to the lower room, where there is a class of about forty infants; such a variegated bank of babes would astonish any English teacher, for the little bodies were arrayed in all the colours of the rainbow. One small thing of two years old had a turban, and several had patches of opium the size of a sixpence, on the forehead and temples, as a cure for colds. Two half-caste teachers assist Mrs. Ewart, both of them very pleasing. The little children answered many questions similar to those in "Watts's First Catechism," extremely well, and then sang the "Infant School Hymn," which, doubtless, you know—"We wash our faces, we comb our hair." I never saw a prettier sight.—*Vol. I. pp. 50-52.*

It was a fine sight; but still finer was the example of that devoted and self-denying woman, who, without fee or reward, and struggling against delicate health, has given the whole of her time, and the strength of her womanhood, to the task which she has set for herself; and who, year after year, in this exhausting climate, without allowing herself an interval of repose or relaxation, and purposely dwelling in the shade, has toiled and laboured with a zeal and an energy, the tithe of which has won fame and honor for many who less deserved it. But such as she seek not the applause of men; and they have their own satisfying and "exceeding rich" reward.

It is time, however, to turn to other and more exclusively Oriental pictures. Another shift of the kaleidoscope—and we are in the zenáná of Hasan Khan, one of the bravest of the bold Afghan chivalry, and seated with Mrs. Mackenzie by the sick bed of his young wife:—

Mrs. Rudolph and I were ushered in, and found ourselves in a good sized room, with bare rafters and painted walls, full of little arched recesses about four feet from the ground, which served for shelves and cupboards. A mattress, covered with a sheet, lay on the floor, and on it the poor little wife, who had paid me a visit. She was very ill, her face drawn and pinched, unable to move without pain; she was dressed in a very wide pair of scarlet trousers and a short transparent little shirt of figured net, with wide sleeves, her black hair hanging down behind in one plait. A dirty elderly woman, with thick cotton veil, which may once have been white, and dark trousers, tight half-way up to the knee and full above, was sitting by her and coaxing her. I took her for a servant, but found she was her mother. Two stout dirty boys of nine or ten years old, and several girls, one of them a very pretty young thing, were sitting around on the floor. The other wife, Bibi Ji, conducted me to an arm-chair in the middle of the room close to a little pankah; but as I could see nothing of my patient at that distance, I speedily sat down on the floor by her side; they then brought me pillows and bolsters to lean upon. I gave her some medicine, and, ill as she was, she could not forbear taking another look at my petticoat, which is a source of great wonder to them from being corded. Bibi Ji brought us some tea made with cinnamon, which we both agreed

was much nicer than when made in our fashion. The tea leaves and cinnamon are put into cold water and placed on the fire to boil very slowly; it is taken off directly it begins to boil, and boiled milk and sugar added.

The room was painted with flowers on a white ground, a sort of imitation of Florentine mosaic; it has three doors opening into the inner court, where the women sleep in the open air, cooped, &c., and on the opposite side as many leading to the outer court, which, when the women occupy this room, are kept closed, with thick wadded curtains of yellow cotton, bordered with red, over them. As, however, the doors are very rudely made of planks, they have many chinks most convenient for the women to peep and listen through. At the head of the bed stood a rude lamp, a kind of vase, with four wicks, lying in oil, which require to be constantly trimmed; it stood on an old deal box to make it higher; and when I asked for water, it was brought by the Peshkhidmat, who seems to manage everything in his master's absence; he came only to the door, but he must have seen in very well.

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The Peshkhidmat always stands by, and all the younger members of the family press themselves against the walls so as not to be seen. One or two are pretty intelligent girls, and they all receive me most affectionately.

It is pleasant to see how harmoniously they seem to live together, each vying with the other in attending on the invalid. Bibi Ji is a heavy figure and not very "quick at the uptake." By-the-by, I remarked that Leila Bibi's little "sark" is sewn at the throat; so it is evidently not taken off every day. Their persons and hair seem clean; but their clothes are worn until they are almost worthy of a Romish saint. The men of any rank are much more particular. They use only one sheet on their beds, and none over them, as they sleep in their day clothes. They seem very decorous in uncovering themselves before others; this was shown in many ways by the poor invalid when we were putting hot flannels on her, &c.

Now that Leila Bibi is getting better, they all show me every mark of kindness and gratitude, squeezing my hands, patting and stroking me; and last night, two of them shampooed me. Leila Bibi makes signs for me to sit on her bed close to her, and then puts her arm around me, and her dumb thanks, putting my hand to her forehead and eyes, are very pretty. There seems little practical distinction of rank between the mistresses of the family and the servants, except that the former have a few gold ornaments, and wear very wide trousers and transparent jackets, with purple net veils thrown over the left shoulder and reaching to the ground behind; while the latter have blue cotton shirts, cotton veils and ludicrous trousers, tight nearly to the knee and full above. One or two have a petticoat instead. They have their hair hanging down in braids behind, and one long curl on each side of the temple. Bibi Ji has silver bangles on her feet. An old fat servant sometimes comes in dressed literally in sackcloth. Bibi Ji brings everything eatable with her own hands, fetches water for the medicines, &c. Several, that I at first took for attendants, turn out to be friends, for it is the custom in case of sickness for some of the friends of the invalid to go and stay in the house, rendering all needful aid till amendment takes place—and a good custom it is. In England we can so easily buy service, that we have forgotten the privilege of rendering it.—*Vol. I. pp. 236-241.*

The husband has not yet appeared upon the scene. The following extract presents the rough, but warm-hearted chief—

tain in the bosom of his family, and gives, we fear, far too favourable a picture of the interior of an Afghan home:—

The next morning, Sunday, to my great amazement, as I drove into the court, Hasan Khan himself appeared; he must have ridden day and night from Simla, directly he heard of his wife's illness. He led me in. She seemed better; but shortly spasms came on, and she suffered greatly. This obliged me to stay with her till half-past ten, by which time *sepiā* had relieved the violence of the pain. You may imagine I watched Hasan Khan very closely to see how Muhammadan husbands behave. He was most attentive to his poor wife, raising her up, giving her water every few minutes, and holding her head. He was dressed exactly as the women are, i. e. with very full trousers, muslin short shirt, and scull-cap. Like all the Afghans, he rushes about in the most energetic manner; and then, when his wife was a little easier, sat down, and gossipped with the other women most sociably. He is well obeyed; he told his little child to go to me, and it came instantly, for the first time. He seems very fond of her. He gave his little wife some sago; and though she made wry faces, he caused her to take the whole, just as if she had been an infant. He is particularly pleased with a telescope, which Lord Gough gave him. The Jungi-Lord (or war lord, as they call him) went to get the glass himself, and said, "I have used this five-and-twenty years, and I give it to you, because you are an old and brave soldier."

*May 14th* —I have been to see my patient every day. Her brother is still there, but comes no more within the zenáná. It is droll to see Hasan Khan feel his wife's pulse. He does it with a face of such preter-natural gravity, as plainly shows he thinks it incumbent on him to make up for perfect ignorance by wise looks. He is very much grieved at C. not being well, and has been here five or six times to see him. He told my husband that they had held a consultation regarding my "science," whereby I read in a book and gave medicine, and they agreed they were all cows compared to me!—*Vol. I. pp. 244-245.*

Mrs. Mackenzie had much intercourse with the ladies belonging to the family of the unlucky Shah Sujah, and, more especially, of his son Shah Shahpur, whose brief tenure of royalty at Kabul owed all its splendour to the glean of General Pollock's bayonets, and was propped upon them alone. He seems to have been a brave and gallant boy, the only manly spirit in that effeminate family, and has had the good fortune to escape with life from that city of cut-throats. We select one of her interviews with the widows of Zeman Khan, the old Shah of Kabul. The acumen of the knowing fair Oriental is not more amusing than Mrs. Mackenzie's evident anxiety to deny "the soft impeachment:"—

Mr. Newton came to ask me to visit one of Shah Zeman's widows, who is very ill. Mrs. Newton and I accordingly drove thither. All that was to be seen of the house outside was a high mud wall, like that round a large garden: a door in it led into a little court, where a fine cow and calf and a pair of very handsome oxen (intended, I suppose, to draw the Palki gari, which stood outside) were eating. Our guide knocked with his stick at a very low door, so that a person outside could see nothing of one

within higher than the elbow: it was soon opened, and we entered and found ourselves in a neat little garden full of onions, from whence another door led into a row of very clean, neat apartments, in one of which the poor old lady was sitting up in bed, wrapped in a quilt: two chairs were placed for us. The Shahzadeh, her son, and a row of women were all sitting on the floor, watching the incantations of a strange veiled figure, who turned out to be a native "wise woman," performing charms for the poor old lady's recovery. She has been ill more than two months and had hardly any pulse, though she moved wonderfully well. Two elderly unmarried daughters were near her: it is strange how immediately I recognized them as such without being told. There is something quite different in the look of a married woman and an old maid.

Shah Zeman seems, at least in these instances, to have followed the same preposterous system as his brother Shah Sujah, by not suffering his daughters to marry. The old lady must have been handsome in her youth, and was very courteous, and grieved when I stood up to help her. The Shahzadeh was very attentive to her;—a handsome man when sitting, though very short and stout, magnificent eyes, eyebrows and beard. Dividers of his wives were there; one rather pretty, with a saucy, pert expression; the other very gentle and the mother of two very pretty delicate little boys, dressed in yellow satin, one of whom went to Mrs. Newton at once and fell asleep in her arms. I prescribed for the poor old lady, who encouraged us by saying that if she got well we must come again and she would give a *Nach*! All the ladies were smoking by turns, one *chilam* being passed round; they offered it to us, and when we declined, one of them, more knowing than the rest, observed, "Ah, they smoke cheroots!"

For the rest of the day, I laughed whenever the image, which had presented itself to the imagination of these good ladies, crossed my mind, of Mrs. Newton and myself with cigars in our mouths!—*Vol. II. pp. 80-82.*

From the royalty of Kabul, we turn to the royalty of Delhi, and thus obtain a glimpse (not of the most inviting) of *la crème de la crème* of Oriental female aristocracy; for Mrs. Mackenzie had the unexpected honor of spending her New Year's day with the Great Mogul. She had been sketching in the palace, and the whole court was thrown into commotion by her most undiplomatic and ill-advised request for a chair:—

However, they sent a message to the king on the subject, who said I might have a stool, but not a chair, and accordingly sent me a very rude little bench. Some of H. M.'s guard marched in; most of them were boys, almost children. When I had finished, I desired some of the numerous by-standers to look into the camera, with which they were greatly delighted; and as we were going, a message came from the king, asking me to show it to him. We accordingly turned back, and three or four black slaves came to conduct me into the harem.

They introduced me to the chief Lady, Zinat Mahal Begum, or Ornaments of the Palace, who struck me as old and ugly, and then led me to the king's apartment, where the old monarch was smoking his *haqá*. He is slender and feeble-looking, but with a simple kindly face, though he took no notice of me when I came in, which I suppose is etiquette. His bedstead, with four silver posts, was by him, and a crowd of women about him: one old woman was rubbing his feet. No one was handsomely

dressed. The old king wore a gold skull-cap and a cotton *chaphan*. I sat down for a moment, and then told them that the camera must be put up out of doors. They led me into the balcony, but that would not do; so they took me to a terrace where I put it up. The old king seemed pleased, and asked me to draw the queen, to which I willingly agreed. She was so long in adorning herself, that it was dark soon after I began. They brought out boxes full of jewels; she put on about five pair of earrings, besides necklaces, a nose-ring with a string of pearls connecting it with the ear, rings for the fingers, besides ornaments for the head. Then she retired to change her dress, some of the women holding up the cotton *rezaf* (wadded quilt) in which her majesty had been wrapped, as a screen. She came back, dressed in red muslin spotted with gold, and sat down, *hugá* in hand, with two female servants with peacock fans, or rather *clubs*, behind her. When I looked closer at her, I saw that she could not be old, but she is very fat, with large though unmeaning eyes, and a sweet mouth. Her hair, like that of all the other women, of whom there must have been about fifty present, was *à la chinoise*. Her little son, Mirza Jewan Bakht, came and sat beside her; but as soon as I offered to sketch him, he was hurried away to change his dress, and returned clad in green velvet and gold, with a *sirpesh*, or aigrette of jewels, in his gold cap.

The noise and chattering of the assembled crowd was deafening; but the chief eunuch occasionally brought them to order, and made them sit down. Her Majesty laughed very loud, as loud as she could, with her mouth wide open, at some jest which passed. Not one of all these women were doing anything, or looked as if they ever did do anything, except three, who were cracking nutmegs. What a life! The old king came in, and a man with a black beard, whom I took for one of his sons, and who remained standing; but the women sat and joked freely with his Majesty. He approved of the sketches. The little prince is he, whom the king wishes to have declared heir-apparent, though he is the youngest of his ten or twelve sons. He has no less than thirty daughters.

I was exceedingly amused with my visit, and thought how astonished you would all be to hear of my spending New Year's day with the King of Delhi—the Great Mogul! When we got home, Sir Theophilus told me that the king does not give a chair, even to the Governor-General. His father gave a chair on one occasion to a Governor-General, and repeated of it ever afterwards!—*Vol. III. pp. 71-73.*

Such scenes as these leave a melancholy and painful impression. It is not so much the spectacle of a great dynasty fallen from its high estate, and dwindled down to the effete and imbecile thing which now represents it, as the thought, that such is the inevitable result of oriental social institutions, which must grieve the thoughtful spirit.

Mrs. Mackenzie writes eloquently and wisely, but with true feminine delicacy and tact, of the baneful influence of polygamy, and of the almost moral impossibility that any thing great or good can come from a youth, brought up amidst the intrigues and hatreds, the despotism and ignorance, and the soulless and enervating atmosphere of the *zenáná*. The proverbial orientalism, "children of the same milk," shows the true and God-given instinct of our nature for that happy home, which



Christianity alone secures, with other pure and holy social blessings, for all who live under its benign influence.

We doubt whether any other European lady has been privileged to see so often, and so nearly, the kings and "king-makers" of the East. On her first arrival in India, Mrs. Mackenzie had a pleasant and interesting interview with the fallen Amirs of Scinde. She saw much of the little Maharajah Dhulip Singh; and we can imagine the gladness with which she must have heard of his becoming a Christian. She was on terms of friendship and intimacy with the family of Shah Sujah; indeed, Shahpúr bade farewell to her husband and herself with tears in his eyes. She met (if we remember aright) the Rajah of Satara; and, as we have already noticed, she was admitted into the presence, and within the zenána of the Great Mogul himself. The reader will find also pleasant and kindly anecdotes of Lord Dalhousie, the brave old "warlord" Gough, and his abler and more eccentric, but as warm-hearted, successor. Theirs are historical names; and one likes to find, that these men of the strong head and strong hand have hearts also, and now and then can let their human sympathies pierce through and show themselves behind the mask of office and official formalities. Many interesting particulars will also be found respecting Colonel Stoddart, Akbar Khan and his mother, the arch-traitor Amínullah, and the doom which at last overtook him; but for these we refer our readers to the book itself.

Mrs. Mackenzie, as we have already noted, is a most successful and enthusiastic sketcher, and she was wild to catch a genuine Bedouin. She succeeded, but with no small difficulty; for how was it possible to make an Arab understand her motives? "Why," said the perplexed son of the desert, "why should I go to the house of the English? God alone knows what may befall me there!" The lady's reflections on this little incident are thoughtful and suggestive:—

I have often reflected on the cause of the difficulty I find in taking the likeness of a European, as compared with that of an Oriental. The expression of the one can be caught in an instant; that of the other is not only more varying, but more complicated; and I suppose it to be from the simplicity of their lives, as compared with ours. Consider the infinite variety of objects which engage our attention and interest, and the infinite variety of thoughts and emotions which these give rise to—and you will see that it is impossible for a cultivated European to retain the repose of features and the unity of expression, which is observable in the Oriental. Add to this, our habit of suppressing the outward manifestation of feeling (for, when an Oriental really feels deeply, he shows it much more freely than we do, except where he is obliged to feign), and the generally inferior

intensity of the passions in Europe, and you will see why the countenances vary. This Arab was the most perfect specimen I ever saw of a man of few and simple emotions. He could understand hatred for an enemy, and love for a friend; bodily privations he is accustomed to disregard,—bodily suffering to endure; probably this comprises the circle of his feelings. How can such a one, accustomed to hardships, to solitude and exertion, be made to understand the thousand-and-one aims and strivings of civilized life? He is a being of another sphere, and moves among the crowded streets with neither interest nor comprehension for the world and its ways. There was no harshness in his expression; but it was the calm indifference of an ascetic. Are not these men, in some respects, wiser than we, gifted with a truer insight than we are into the nothingness of the world, though not of the great realities of life?—*Vol. III. pp. 256-257.*

Great, most certainly, is the difference between the genuine eastern and western idiosyncracies. Take for instance an oriental joke:—

Our kind hostess, Mrs G., has a very nice Ayah, who is a learned woman, and reads the Koran daily, without understanding a word of it. The Aga said, she reminded him of a devout housewife of his, who got a Munshi to read to her the "Martyrdom of Hasan and Huseyn." As the lecture proceeded, she became more and more affected, wept, tore her hair, beat her breast, sobbed and groaned, until the irreverent Munshi burst out laughing, and told her he had been reading the Loves of Majnun and Leila!—*Vol. III. p. 265.*

Again, we challenge Brother Jonathan himself, and the whole great western republic, to match the story of "the mad tree!"—and yet from beginning to end it has the genuine Oriental flavour. Here it is:—

Will you believe the following story on the testimony of an eye-witness? Our Munshi Badrudin is ready to swear that he saw it "many years ago when he was a very young man." A mad dog bit a horse, which was tied to a mango tree, that had long been noted for the excellence of its fruit. The horse became raving mad, tore great pieces out of his own flesh, and out of the bark of the tree, and finally died. In a short time the mango tree withered away, and died too. A woodman, seeing a dry tree, began to cut it down; a splinter flew off, and hit him on the crown of the head. "It drew two or three drops of blood, not more," said the accurate Munshi;—"nevertheless in a short time the unfortunate man began to bark like a dog, to tear his flesh like the horse, and became raving mad. A by-stander said, 'It is time to put him out of his misery;' so he threw a little cold water in his face, and his spirit departed."—*Vol. III. p. 292.*

Mrs. Mackenzie gives us only one little specimen of the subtler and less richly exuberant humour of the West. The story is good in its way; and, *si non vero, è ben trovato*:—

Major M. also told us of an interview he had had with Sir James Stephen. Shortly after his return from Van Dieman's Land, he was requested to call at the Colonial Office, in order to give the results of his observations and experience in that colony. Sir James Stephen received him:

most blandly: then leaning back in his chair, he folded his hands, half closed his eyes, and gave utterance to a series of various apophthegms and reflections, perfectly true and extremely well expressed, for the space of an hour and a half. He then rose, blandly thanked the astonished Major M. for his valuable information, and bowed him out of the room, without having allowed him to utter a sentence!—*Vol. I. p. 5.*

The chief charm of Mrs. Mackenzie's book is its perfect honesty. It is, we think, the most honest book we ever met with; yet to judge from its reception in this country at least, one might be led to question the truth of that time-honored adage, "Honesty is the best policy." She has no concealments; what she believes, she asserts without compromise or palliation. She may be, and she is, often indiscreet; but there is a certain nobleness in her very indiscretions. She forgets that every thing, uttered in the confidence of intimate companionship, is not to be proclaimed from the house-tops; that she has no right to bring the private conversations of her friends, without their own consent or knowledge, before the public; and that she is responsible for much unnecessary pain and vexation, and, it may be, estrangements, alienations, and ill-will, without any adequate end or aim. But, it must be evident to every one who reads her book, that her own nature is frank, unconventional, and fearless; and that every word, uttered in the privacy of her own household was fit for the sun and the broad light of day. Her praise and her blame are both hearty; but they are not always judiciously administered. She is hasty in judgment; somewhat prone to censure, and sometimes, but never intentionally, unjust. She is over-keen in her indignation, and her pen not unfrequently borrows something of the *trenchant* and rough-and-ready style of "the camp." Of this fault Mrs. Mackenzie herself is not unconscious. "So difficult is it," she writes, "to avoid catching even the expressions one hears, as well as the sentiments, that it is a struggle to preserve the purity of one's mother-tongue, and not to speak and write *à la militaire*. So if any 'camp' phrase slips out unawares, you must excuse it, and believe that I shall be as shocked at myself as you could wish." (*Vol. III. p. 3.*)

With the graver accusations, and the loud outcries of personality and scandal which have been raised against her by our local press, itself so immaculate and scrupulous, we confess we have no sympathy.

Mrs. Mackenzie judges hastily, sometimes harshly; but her nature is genial, kindly, and feminine. She has a woman's shrinking from vice, a woman's scorn of cowardice, a woman's

hatred of cruelty, and a woman's fearlessness, when her sympathies are stirred, alike by good or evil. Early in her first volume, may be found the key to the more painful portions of her book. It is, a bold avowal for a man to make; still bolder for a woman; but she has made it, and she has stood to it; and we honor her for both.

"It is quite refreshing," she writes, "to find any one, who openly protests against scandalous conduct; *for, in this country, virtue is generally content to walk arm in arm with vice.*" (Vol I. p. 110)

Mrs. Mackenzie sets herself in opposition to this very pleasant and popular state of things, and Vanity Fair hoots her down. She has had the further imprudence to term a portion of the Indian press "vulgar," and to quote two or three of its choice morsels—certainly not borrowed from Chesterfield. Now, however, that the out-cry is subsiding, it may be well to ask how many of the disgraceful stories of cowardice, incapacity, injustice, and cruelty, which her too faithful pen records have been proved to be false, or have even been in the least degree shaken? To Captain Yates alone she has done unintentional injustice, and for that, as her only but able apologist in the *Friend of India* establishes, she was in no wise to blame. In answer to her husband's reasonable challenge, who has come forward, before a jury of his countrymen, to transfer the brand from his name to hers? It appears to us that a soldier's misbehaviour in the field as nearly concerns the public, and is as justly open to public censure and denunciation, as the malversation of a judge, the oppression of a governor, or the incapacity or treachery of a statesman. We have read her book deliberately and conscientiously. but we have looked in vain for the slightest trace of any personal motive, or any private pique or resentment. She whispers nothing in the dark. she stabs no one behind his back. she flings her charge at the feet of the accused in open court, and says to him, "Thou art the man." We hope, for the honour of the British name, that she may have been misled or mistaken, but it is impossible to doubt that she believes what she writes, and, believing this, we cannot but sympathize with the bold hand, albeit weak and a woman's, that flings down the glove with honest scorn and indignation.\*

It is a pleasure to turn from this disagreeable subject; so let us hear what Mrs. Mackenzie has to say of Indian society in

\* See Note, p. 544

general. Her opinion is that of a shrewd, but sufficiently favourable observer:—

My impression of Indian society is, that in ability and uprightness, both the military and civil services are unsurpassed by any other body. The average amount of talent appears to me decidedly above that of English society at home; and the reason is evident—in India a man has opportunities of developing whatever faculties nature has given him, which would not be afforded in Europe, until they began to decay. A military man, by the time he is thirty years of age, has often acted as quarter-master to a division, or been left in sole charge of a detachment, perhaps of a regiment, in an enemy's country. He may have been sole magistrate of a large cantonment; and has probably acted as post-master, pay-master, brigade-major, and commissariat-officer, or has commanded a regiment in action; perhaps has been transferred from an infantry corps to one of irregular cavalry, acted as political assistant, made treaties with hostile tribes, settled questions of revenue or tribute, besides having to build his own house and his wife's carriage.

A young civilian, with less variety of work, is even more uncontrolled, and has often greater responsibility thrown upon him. He is probably put in charge of a district half as large as England: with the combined duties of magistrate and revenue commissioner, he may be called on to defend his district as he best can; to suppress an outbreak; to seize conspirators; to trace gang robberies and wholesale murders; and is advanced to high judicial, financial or political functions, while still in the full possession of all the faculties of vigorous manhood. No wonder that a clever young civilian, who returned to England four years after he entered the service, when my husband asked him if he were not sensible of a great difference between himself and the young men of his own age, with whom he had renewed acquaintance, replied, "To tell you the truth, I find they are boys, and I feel myself a man."

The isolated life civilians so often lead, and the large amount of authority and responsibility committed to them at so early an age, probably account for the fact, that you scarcely meet a young civilian, whose manner has not far too much confidence and pretension to be that of good society—where modesty, if not genuine, is at least feigned. As they grow older, this generally wears off; and as, *en masse*, they are more highly educated than military men, you meet very gentlemanly, as well as accomplished and agreeable, civilians. Young officers, though not often so well-informed as young civilians, have generally much better manners, and would be better received at home; for nothing corrects conceit and presumption so much as constant intercourse with equals and superiors, as in a regiment. One hears of jealousy between the two services, but I have never seen anything of it. The recent improvement in the religious and moral standard at home causes a marked difference between the majority of men under fifty and those above it.

But if the gentlemen in India are above the home average, the ladies are certainly below it. Young men constantly make inferior marriages; and girls, after having been deprived of a mother's care half their lives, are brought out and married far too young—before their education (if they have had any) is finished, or their minds formed, and before they have entered what, in the present deficient system, is often the best part of a girl's education—the advantage of intercourse with really good society. They have not the standard of manners or taste, by which to test the manners of those

among whom they are thrown ; they probably marry under sixteen, often under sixteen, and adopt the strangest phraseology from their husbands and their husbands' friends. It is common to hear ladies speaking not only of their husbands by their surnames (a thing unpardonable, except of a peer), but of other gentlemen in the same manner ; talking of " our kit," and using such terms as " jolly," " pluck," " a cool thing," " lots," " rows," and " no end of things !" I think the wives of military men are worse in this respect than those of civilians.

\* \* \* \* \*

There is certainly a great amount of domestic happiness in India. Married people are in many cases so entirely thrown upon each other, not only for sympathy, but for conversation and amusement, that they become knit much more closely than when each has a thousand distractions, and separate ways of spending the day.

The lady cannot spend her mornings in shopping or visiting, nor the gentleman at his club. They generally drive or ride together every evening, and many married people, when separated, write to each other every day.

Circumstances, which tend to promote such a high degree of conjugal union and sympathy, surely cannot be considered merely as hardships.—*Vol. III. pp. 172-175.*

We are afraid to quote what she says of Indian children, or the irreverence, with which she treats the " huzzur," who looks down with such lordly contempt and impatience on " these brutes of natives ;" for Mrs. Mackenzie has a generous sympathy for every one in distress, from the poor soldier's wife condemned to the degradations of the barracks, to the high-spirited native nobleman, or brave chieftain, smarting under the rude insolence of some ill-mannered Anglo-Saxon cub ; and she expresses herself on such occasions very plainly.

We have been with her in the Camp and the Zenáná ; and we must not forget that her book treats largely of the Mission. Mrs. Mackenzie is a decided Christian ; but she neither chants nor preaches. Her charity is not condescending, and knows neither distinction of rank, nor difference of blood and faith. By the dying bed of a Christian servant, or of an ignorant Afghan woman, or of a beloved friend, the wife of a missionary, she does her woman's work, in imitation of her blessed exemplar, " pouring in wine and oil"—the soft step, and the gentle hand, and the soothing voice that tells of salvation through the crucified Jesus of Nazareth.

Whatever fascinations the distinguished and highly intellectual and attractive society, which gladly opened its doors to receive her, may and must have had for this gifted and accomplished lady, the first place in her heart and in her intimacy was ever kept for those she looked upon as the faithful servants of Christ—for the Janviers and the Radolfs, for the Newtons and the Duffs, and the Murray Mitchells.

Wherever she went, she sought them out, as her chosen friends and associates. She was not in the least ashamed "if they bowed to her on the course;" and, in the fulness of her affection, she has written of them in too flattering terms, it was for the sake of their work and their Master.

There is an air of pristine simplicity, that reminds one of Apostolic times and customs, in her account of her introduction to Mr. Lush's little Baptist Church at Agra —

The missionaries preach only in Hindustani, with the exception of the Baptist missionary, who has a small chapel close to where we were. We were informed none but keránis, &c. clerks, went there, but this did not frighten us away. The service began at half-past six. Seeing the table prepared for the Communion, C. went to the vestry to inquire if we could partake of it. He explained to the missionary, who was — that I was a member of the Free Kirk, and Mrs. M. of the Church of England. Mr. Lush, the minister, who is an East Indian, said that usually they required three or four days' notice that they might learn something of the character of the parties wishing to communicate, but that he would consult with his elder, Mr. Frazer (a Presbyterian), and they both came to the conclusion, that as we were travellers, and had so recently communicated with the Free Church in Calcutta, there could be no objection. Mr. Lush preached an excellent discourse on "Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner stone," &c. He then informed the congregation who we were, and where we were going, mentioned our wish to partake of the Lord's Supper with them, and, in one of the prayers during the Sacrament, implored the Divine blessing specially on us, prayed for the furtherance of our journey, and for our future remission with those present before the Throne of God. It was such a simple Scriptural way of receiving strangers, you could fancy Titus and Timothy acting thus. At the conclusion of the service, Mr. Lush took his seat at the table, and, after prayer (during which the congregation knelt) we resumed our seats, and the bread was distributed by an elder. Mr. Lush prayed again, and the cup was brought round, and, after a concluding prayer, we ended by singing my favourite fifteenth doxology.

"May the grace of Christ our Saviour,

And the Father's boundless love,

With the Holy Spirit's favour,

Rest upon us from above!

May we now abide in union

With each other and the Lord,

And enjoy, in sweet communion,

Joys, which earth cannot afford."—*Vol. I pp 143-144.*

We shall make but one more extract—her brief, but exquisitely feminine and beautiful sketch of a woman, whom even to appreciate was an honour, and over whose dying moments she watched with the tender care of a sister:—

A more perfect model of a missionary's wife than dear Mrs. Rudolph I never expect to see. She was an excellent linguist, speaking several dialects; besides reading and speaking Hindustani perfectly. She was so indefatigable in teaching the orphan-school, that she never left her house but two evenings in the week, and I used to think an excess of patience the chief defect in her method of teaching. She was a devoted mother,

and even injured her own health by her ceaseless watching over her little boy. She was also an excellent housewife, having retained the German custom of looking after everything herself, and often making some little primitive dainty for her husband or guests with her own hands. Her order and activity were equally remarkable. She was never idle, and yet she worked and read more than many who have no regular employment on their hands. She told Mr. Rudolph, after she was taken ill, that she thought love of dress and want of charity in speech had been two of her besetting sins. When he related this to me after her departure, it was so contrary to all we had ever seen of her, that neither of us could forbear smiling. It was probably from her being on her guard against these two sins that she was so manifestly free from them. Her dress would have been not only plain, but poor, had it not been for the spotless neatness and cleanliness which marked every thing about her; and I never knew any one of whom it might be more truly said that her speech "was always with grace seasoned with salt." No one could be half an hour in her company without feeling that she was a child of God. She constantly spoke to her servants, and to any native ladies she happened to visit, concerning the way of salvation; and I never remember an uncharitable or frivolous expression from her lips. My husband often remarked, after spending the evening with Mr. and Mrs. Rudolph, that he never saw any one whose expression of countenance and conversation bore more strongly the impress of holiness. There was such a combination of unspeakable sweetness and heaven-born dignity about this naturally plain and unpretending missionary's wife, that he said he always felt unworthy to gaze at her, and that it enabled him to realize Acts vi., 15. She was only twenty-nine, when God took her to His upper sanctuary. - *Vol. III. pp. 15-16.*

We had marked other passages; but enough has been given to enable our readers to form an opinion for themselves of Mrs. Mackenzie's moral and literary qualifications. Our own may be gathered from what we have written. The book requires compression. Its military criticism and details are out of season and out of place. Its snatches of history and missionary statistics may well be spared. Its dull pages and its indiscretions call for careful but merciless weeding. But matter sufficient will be left for two pleasant and portable volumes; and with portraits of the Delhi Queen, and Dhulip Singh, and Leila Bibi, and Hassan Khan, and others, selected from the jealously guarded portfolio, we may venture to prophesy that we shall have a work, which the Indian public will not willingly let die.

In spite of its literary faults, which are more than redeemed by its literary excellencies, and, in spite of its graver indiscretions, we rise from its perusal with sincere respect and admiration for the writer. Mr. Kaye, in his *History of the Afghan War*, records that "there is not a better man, 'or a braver soldier than Colm Mackenzie in the ranks 'of the Indian army;' - and well has that been proved in the face of the Afghan and the Seikh. His wife's pages show



and under a higher character—that of a humble and consistent Christian man. In spite of the unmanly insults, which have been lately heaped upon both, a household like theirs is a sight, of which, in this land above all others, every Englishman should feel proud.

#### NOTE.

While these pages were passing through the press, we received a notice of Mrs. Mackenzie's book from a writer of established reputation—himself a military man. His judgment of the work coincides to a remarkable degree with our own; and on his bolder statements, we are not sorry to have an opportunity of laying before our readers another and a weightier verdict. He writes:—

"There are statements in her book, which will create much discussion, and, perhaps, bring down upon her some censure for the fearlessness with which she has disclosed, what, for the credit not only of the Indian Army but of British manliness, some would desire wholly to conceal. We must, however, be permitted to say that this is at least an open question. In all other professions or callings, when a man, in any public capacity, discredits himself and his order, his shortcomings are criticised; and in some way or other, he is held up to public odium or contempt. If one man, for example, being an author, writes a very foolish or a very mischievous book, he is ridiculed and condemned in the public prints;—or, if another talks nonsense in the House of Commons, he is coughed down or crowded at by his brother Members, and told next morning in the papers that he has made a fool of himself. A bad writer or bad speaker has all his weaknesses probed by opposing hands; he is satirised, ridiculed, till every nerve and fibre is tired with pain. But Mrs. Mackenzie says that officers who run away, or hang back, when they are called to come forward, in action, receive brevet-promotion, and are made Companions of the Bath. Is this just to the brave men, who deserve such honors? Is there any reason why bad soldiers should not be called bad soldiers, just as bad authors are called bad authors? Why should any class be exempt from public criticism and public odium? We know that it is not customary to write openly of these things. But the reservation, which has hitherto been the rule in such cases, may be justly honored in the breach than in the observance. For the sake of the truth, we must say that the only question, which it is of much importance to know, is whether the statement that Mrs. Mackenzie has written is true or false. There are more important questions than good taste; and we confess that, like Mrs. Mackenzie, we are somewhat weary of the subject."









